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HEAD OF KING TUTANKHAMUN FROM HIS ALABASTER CANOPIC CHEST

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

IN the Foreword to the last volume of the *Journal* the Editor announced the promise of a subsidy from the Treasury of £3,000 towards the Society's expenses, and envisaged the possibility of the resumption of the excavations at Amarah West which were interrupted by the war, provided that sufficient additional funds were forthcoming from other sources to bridge the gap between the amount of the subsidy and the estimated cost of the work. Thanks to the liberality of the Society's friends abroad, that necessary financial support has been forthcoming. The authorities of the Louvre have most generously contributed the equivalent of £1,000; the Crown Prince of Sweden, to whom we have been much indebted in the past, has again sent £300, while a grant of £500 has been made by the Trustees of the Brooklyn Museum. We have therefore been able to resume our work in Nubia under the directorship of Mr. H. W. Fairman, whom we welcome back into Egyptology after his years of service in the British Embassy at Cairo; to assist him in the field we have secured the services of Mr. Peter Fell and of the Danish scholar Mr. Erik Iversen, the latter a welcome new member of our team. But despite these generous gifts, the Society still needs financial support from its own members to meet the ever-rising costs of its work, and we repeat the appeal made in the last volume of the *Journal* to readers to send what monetary gifts they can to the Society's office, earmarked if desired for the excavation at Amarah West.

It is to be regretted that the mounting difficulties imposed by present conditions on the preparation and production of books have again held up the Society's publications, with the result that we have been able to complete the printing only of the present volume of the *Journal*, but it is good news that Mlle Claire Préaux has undertaken the second part of *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library*.

In Egypt the excavations carried out by the Egyptian Government have continued, notably at the pyramid of Snefru at Dāhshūr, of which some excellent photographs have appeared in the *Illustrated London News*. Nearer home, there took place in August two important gatherings of scholars interested in Ancient Egypt. We are indebted to Miss Rosalind Moss for the following account of the Congress held at Copenhagen: 'The Foundation Meeting of the newly-formed International Association of Egyptologists was held at Copenhagen University from August 18 to 23, under the chairmanship of Professor de Buck of Leyden, some twenty-seven members representing twelve different nations being present. The main tasks to be undertaken by the Association are the preparation of material for continuing the Berlin Dictionary, the compilation of an Archaeological Index, and the publication of an Annual Report and News Service combined with an Information Bureau in the permanent office in Copenhagen. It is also proposed to continue the publication of *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* on the same lines as before, all texts to be collated with the originals and the

contributors to be paid by the Association, and to undertake the reproduction of papyri and other scientific texts in facsimile for the purposes of study. The annual bibliography, for many years an important feature of this *Journal*, is to be prepared by Father Janssen and published in the *Chronique d'Égypte* with a subsidy from the Association. Other subjects discussed included the reproduction of books and periodicals destroyed during the war, the acquisition of offprints of special articles in non-Egyptological journals for re-sale to libraries and individuals, the Encyclopaedia of Egyptian Archaeology, and the co-ordination of the transcription of Egyptian names. The question of the translation of articles in less well-known languages was also raised, and it was decided to ask authors to write in English, French or German whenever possible. The next session will take place in Paris in July 1948 immediately after the Meeting of the Oriental Congress.'

The other Congress, convened to reconstitute the International Committee of Papyrologists, was held at Brussels from August 28 to 30 under the chairmanship of Professor Jouguet. A report on this latter Meeting by Mr. T. C. Skeat is enclosed in the present volume as a separate broadsheet, and the attention of readers who are interested in Graeco-Roman Egypt is drawn to the statement that Mr. Skeat, as the British member of the Committee, will be glad to receive applications for membership of the proposed International Association of Papyrologists from persons resident in the British Isles.

Again we have to report sad losses among those connected with Egyptology. Especially we have to lament the death after a short illness of our valued and energetic Vice-President M. Jean Capart. His enthusiasm and activity in the field of Egyptology were indeed amazing. Apart from the many books and articles which flowed from his pen, he served as a most able director of the *Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire* at Brussels, and created the *Fondation Egyptologique Reine Élisabeth*, with its excellent library and its numerous publications. His genial presence will be greatly missed on both sides of the water, and we extend our heartfelt sympathies to our Belgian colleagues in their loss. We have also recently received news of the passing of the Nestor of Egyptologists, Professor V. Golénischeff, a great scholar who amongst his other writings first published those famous literary texts *The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, *The Instruction for King Merikarē*, *The Prophecies of Neferrohu*, and *The Misfortunes of Wenamūn*; to him also we owe the preservation of that Onomasticon which to-day bears his name. Our Society has suffered yet another loss in the death of Mr. E. S. M. Perowne, who for many years served on the Committee, and whose knowledge of law was often of great assistance in its work, while the older members will regret the passing of Miss Emily Paterson, for many years Secretary of the Society under its old title of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

HOREMKHAUEF OF NEKHEN AND HIS TRIP TO IT-TOWE

By WILLIAM C. HAYES

SOME five hundred metres north-west of the Early Dynastic fort at Kōm el Aḥmar, in a low hill overlooking the cultivated land, lies a cemetery of small rock-cut tombs ranging in date from the late Old Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period. Two of the tombs, side by side in the north-west corner of a rock-hewn courtyard, are adorned with painted decoration and have been known to students and travellers since 1893, when Tylor first cleared their chambers of drift sand.¹ One of these—the tomb of the Treasurer Pepynenʿankh—appears from the name of its owner and the style of its decoration to date from the Sixth Dynasty. The other tomb was probably hewn at about the same time, but was not decorated until some six centuries later, when it was appropriated by a Chief Priest of the god Horus of Nekhen, named Ḥoremkhauef, who, as we shall see, lived during the latter years of the Thirteenth Dynasty.²

When, in March 1935, the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art under the direction of Ambrose Lansing cleared the courtyard before the tomb entrances, it was found, as we should have expected, that the brick walls screening the entrance of the tomb of Ḥoremkhauef were built on debris which had accumulated on the floor of the court during the centuries following its original cutting. It was on this same layer of debris, lying face down beside one of the brick walls, that the stela of Ḥoremkhauef shown in Plate II was found.³

The stela, now in New York,⁴ is a thick, somewhat roughly shaped slab of limestone, 58×35×15 cm. Its form, type, and style may be readily seen in the plate. The colour is almost entirely gone, but enough remains to show that the inscription was painted a monochrome blue; the large *ūdjat* eyes in the lunette, black with blue brows and appendages; the □ sign between them, blue with a red centre; and the flesh of the figure of Ḥoremkhauef, red. By an artistic convention peculiar to both the First and

¹ Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 197; Qubell, *Hierakonpolis*, II, 25; Weigall, *Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, 315-16; Kees, *Studien zur ägyptische Provinzialkunst*, 5-16, pls. 1-2; Wreszinski, *Bericht über die photographische Expedition von Kairo bis Wadi Halfa*, 80-3, pls. 41-3; Lansing, *Bull. M.M.A.*, Nov. 1935, sect. ii, 37-8, fig. 2; Smith, *Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 234.

² An inspection of the plates and descriptive matter given by Wreszinski, Weigall, and Kees (see note 1) shows clearly that the paintings in the tombs of Pepynenʿankh and Ḥoremkhauef are not contemporary with one another. Aside from a considerable divergence in subject-matter, there is an enormous difference in the style of the work. In Pepynenʿankh's tomb the scenes are well composed, the figures well drawn and well proportioned, and the work generally characteristic of good provincial art of the late Old Kingdom; whereas in the tomb of Ḥoremkhauef the composition is haphazard, the figures attenuated and awkward, and the style and iconography in general similar to that seen in the tomb of Sebknakhte, across the river at El-Kāb, dated by the cartouche of King Sekhemrēʿ Sewadjtowe Sebḫotpe III to the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Tylor, *Tomb of Sebeknekht*).

³ Lansing, *op. cit.* 37.

⁴ Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 35.7.55.

Second Intermediate Periods this figure, carved in true relief, is squat and heavy, while that of the owner's wife, executed in *relief en creux*, is attenuated and angular.¹ In nearly all respects—particularly in the profile of the head and the form of the kilt—this 'portrait' of Horemkhauef agrees closely with his painted figure on the left wall of his tomb chamber.² The texts of the stela, including the labels beside the figures and the listing of Horemkhauef's family, comprise twenty-two lines and columns of incised hieroglyphic inscription.

TRANSLATION

(1) *An offering which the king gives (to) Horus of Nekhen, (to) Osiris, who is in the midst of Nekhen, (to) Horus, Avenger of his Father, (to) Thōt, (and to) the ennead of gods (2) and goddesses who are in Nekhen,^a that they may give invocation consisting of bread and beer, beef and fowl, alabaster and linen, incense and anointing oil, and all things good and pure whereof there is given to (3) a god,^b offerings and food, glory, power, and justification, smelling the sweet breath of the north wind, that which the sky gives, (4) that which the earth produces, and that which the Nile brings, arms that they may give, Flood that he may purify, Thōt that he may make offerings^c—to the spirit of (5) the Chief Inspector of Priests^d of Horus of Nekhen, the Overseer of Fields, Horemkhauef, justified.*

He says,^e (6) Horus, Avenger of his Father, gave me a commission to the Residence,^f to fetch (thence) Horus of Nekhen together with his mother, Isis, justified.^g (7) He appointed me as commander of a ship and crew because he knew me to be a competent official^h (8) of his temple, vigilant concerning his assignments.ⁱ Then I fared downstream with good dispatch^j and I drew forth (9) Horus of Nekhen in (my) hands together with his mother, this goddess, from the Good Office^k of It-towe in the presence of the king himself.

(10) I was an excellent dignitary on earth and shall be an excellent spirit in the After-world, since^l I gave bread to the hungry (11) and clothes to the naked, and supported my brothers and sisters, not letting one beg property from another (12) (so that) every man opened to his mates.^m I cared forⁿ (13) the house of those who nurtured me, and they were buried and caused to live.^o

I offered labour (14) to Horus, and Horus caused to be offered to me a vacation from labour^p in the temple, inasmuch (15) as he loved me—the Chief Inspector of Priests of Horus of Nekhen, the Overseer of Fields, Horemkhauef, (16) engendered of the Inspector of Priests, the Overseer of Fields, Thuty, justified, and born of the Royal Ornament, Teyetyeb, justified.

(Before the figure of the owner): (17) The Priest, Horemkhauef. (18) His son, Thuty. His son, Sebknakhte. (19) His daughter(s), Hormakheru,^q Hes(es)yotef,^r (20) Yotefssonbe.^s . . . ?^t (21) The Lector-Priest, Horminiu.^u

(Over the figure of the owner's wife): (22) His wife, the Royal Ornament, Sebknakhte.

NOTES

(a) A similar series of divinities is invoked on another stela from Hieraconpolis (Cairo 20318 = Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine (CCG)*, I, 330-1; dated by Daressy, *Rec.*




¹ Cf. Petrie, *Dendereh*, pls. 7-12; Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* XXII, plate; Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dér Stelae*, plates, *passim*; Winlock, *Journ. Near Eastern Studies*, II, pls. 33-4, 36.



² Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, pl. 42.





STELA OF HOREMKHAUEF FROM HIERACONPOLIS


trav. XIV, 22-3, to the beginning of Dyn. XII), viz.: Nekhbet, Horus of Nekhen, Osiris, who is in the midst of Nekhen, Horus the Edfuite, and the gods and goddesses who are in Nekheb. See also several fragmentary stelae of Dyn. XIII (?) found in the temple at Hieraconpolis by Quibell (*Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. 46, 1, 6, 9); a stela of the New Kingdom in Florence, probably also from Hieraconpolis (Schiaparelli, *Antichità egizie . . . Firenze*, I, no. 1567 (2549), pp. 288-90); and Tylor, *Tomb of Sebeknekht*, pl. 11. Horus of Nekhen and Osiris, who is in the midst of Nekhen, are invoked on the stela of Ḥorminiu, from Hieraconpolis, discussed in note (u), below. See, too, the list of local divinities in the temple at Medīnet Habu (Daressy, *Rec. trav.* XVII, 118).



(b) . This extremely rare variation from such stock expressions as *nh-t(i) ntr im (.sn)*, *ddt pt kmst ts innt H'py*, *prrt hr wdhw n . . .*, etc., is paralleled by the phrase , found in line 2 of the well-known stela of General Sebke in Munich (Dyroff-Pörter, *Aeg. Grabsteine*, II, 8-10, pl. 3, 4; Gardiner, *Rec. trav.* XIX, 84). For  with the meaning 'whereof' in constructions of this general type see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* § 385, and, with partitive meaning, translated 'thereof', § 486, end.

(c) . For the occurrence of these words on stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period see Boeser, *Beschreibung*, II, 4, pl. 7, 8; 12, pl. 34, 45; Lange-Schäfer, *CCG*, 20102, 4-5; Moret, *Ann. Musée Guimet*, xxxii, 26, pl. 11, 12. Erman-Grapow (*Wb.* I, 448) give, for *B'ch sw'b-f*, 'die Wasserfülle sie möge reinigen'. *B'ch*, as noted (*ibid.*), is the name of a divinity personifying the inundation. In the temple of King Sethos I at Abydos the words  occur beside a scene showing the god Thōt reciting the offering ritual before the deceased king (Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, III, pl. 39). See also Gardiner, *Hier. Pap. Brit. Mus.*, Text, 81, n. 8.



(d) For this unique title Dr. Gardiner has suggested the rendering 'Instructor of(?) the First Prophet', giving *shd* its literal force and taking *hm-ntr tpy* as a unit. 'Chief Inspector of Priests', however, seems to represent more closely the office which Horemkha'uef must have actually held, i.e. that of the principal priest of the god at Nekhen. For *shd* and *hm-ntr*, apparently co-ordinated in a single form of the title, see line 16.

(e) . This archaic writing of the verb 'say' occurs occasionally in the Pyramid Texts (*Pyr.* 195 b, 868 c, 1444 b, 1450 a), usually written . See Budge, *Dictionary*, I, 104 B, and Lefebvre, *Gramm.* 126.

(f) , literally, 'Horus, Avenger of his Father, placed in my face to the Residence', or, perhaps, '. . . placed (a going) to the Residence in my face' (cf. *Wb.* II, 468, 4).

(g) That is, of course, the *images* of Horus of Nekhen and his mother, Isis (as also in line 9). In the case of the god there was no necessity for using a word for 'image' (e.g. *twt*, *šm*), for the sign  represents the temple image of the falcon god of Hieraconpolis. In spite of the early writing  (*Pyr.* 295-6, 1293 d, 2011 d), it is probable that the temple image of Nekhen came itself to be thought of as a form of the god Horus, or, conversely, that this particular form of the god was conceived of as existing only in the crouching falcon-shaped idol of Nekhen (cf. Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, §§ 44, 189).




It will have been noted that in line 6 it is Horus, Avenger of his Father, who orders Horemkhauef to the Residence to bring back the image, called 'Horus of Nekhen', and that in line 1 the two forms of Horus are named as separate divinities. In lines 6 and 9, however, it is clear that Horus of Nekhen, like Horus, Avenger of his Father, was thought of as the son of the goddess Isis and, presumably, of the god Osiris. Line 14, which twice refers to the god simply as 'Horus', is not much help in clearing up this characteristic example of ancient Egyptian vagueness as to the relationships of the various forms of their divinities.

Lansing (op. cit. 40) suggests that the image of the god referred to here may have been the well-known gold-headed copper figure of the falcon, found by Quibell at Hieraconpolis (Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* v, 191-2; Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture*, 83-4). An objection to this is that the copper figure, in addition to having had before it a small figure of a king, wears on its golden head the two plumes (as in Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* Sign List, G 13: ) while the hieroglyphic sign used in the present inscription shows an image wearing the crown of Upper Egypt  (in line 15). Since it is probable that the White Crown, an attribute of the god as the patron of the prehistoric capital of Upper Egypt (Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 189), was the earlier form of head-dress worn by the temple image and since it is evident that the crown was still being worn by the image at the time that Horemkhauef's stela was carved, it might be supposed that the plumed falcon found by Quibell should post-date the stela. This is not necessarily so. Representations of the image on fragmentary stelae from Hieraconpolis, ranging in date from the Thirteenth Dynasty to Late Dynastic times, show the falcon of Nekhen wearing several varieties of head ornament (the White Crown, the Double Crown, the solar disk) or none at all (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. 46; see also Tylor, *Tomb of Sebeknekht*, pl. xi). Thus, we must suppose (a) that there were at one time several temple images similar in form, but wearing different head-dresses; (b) that there was only one image, with interchangeable head-dresses; or (c) that we should not take too literally the details preserved in such symbolic representations or hieroglyphic signs.

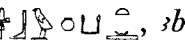




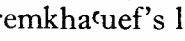

The copper falcon, as restored by Quibell (op. cit. II, pl. 47), was about 56 cm. (22 in.) in length, and we may suppose that the image brought by Horemkhauef from It-towe was approximately the same size—not too bulky to have been readily portable or perhaps to have been handled, together with a statuette of Isis of the same general dimensions, by a single man, as suggested in line 9 of our stela. We must assume, of course, that the images were hollow metal or wood, for stone statuettes, even of this fairly modest size, would have been too heavy for Horemkhauef to have 'drawn forth in (his) hands'.

The fact that the images are spoken of in this inscription as if they were the divinities themselves suggests that it was the principal temple images that were brought from the Residence—perhaps, as Dr. Gardiner has suggested, statues newly made at the capital for the temple at Nekhen. It was once thought (*Bull. MMA*, Nov. 1935, sect. II, 37-8) that the images were taken from Hieraconpolis to It-towe, but a close inspection of the wording of lines 8-9 and the fact that no festival or other occasion for such an act is mentioned make this unlikely.

idea of *equality* between the persons involved, which is perhaps what Horemkhauef wishes to express.

(n)  (Wb. I, 220). The horizontal line before  is apparently intended as  (as frequently in this text).



(o) That is, were caused to live eternally after death by funerary endowments and the like provided by Horemkhauef. Compare the common expression *snh rn.f*, 'caused his name to live', 'perpetuated his name'. Dr. Gardiner is inclined to take *hrs* and *snh* as old perfectives—'they being buried and nourished'. *Mnw-i* presumably refers to those who looked after Horemkhauef when he was young.


(p)  *sbw nyw kst*, 'cessation of labour'. As frequently in inscriptions of this quality and date, the semi-hieratic form of  (Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* I, Sign 578, Dyns. XIII–XVIII) is used. The confusion of  with , as evidently here, is not common before Dyn. XVIII (Gardiner, op. cit. Sign List, R 15). The word is more likely to be , 'cessation', than , 'wish' (Wb. I, 6–7); and presumably refers to Horemkhauef's leave of absence for his trip to the Residence. A difficulty is the use of the genitival adjective *o*, *nyw*, where the preposition , 'from', would be expected; *sbw* appears to be treated as a plural. Dr. Gardiner has suggested that the group, including *o* as a determinative, may be for *ibw*, 'thirst = absence of (work)' (Wb. I, 61).

(q) Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 144, no. 22 and note 1.

(r) Op. cit. 254–5.

(s) Op. cit. 51, no. 16.

(t) The line ends with two signs () for which I can devise no reasonable reading or translation and which I therefore give in facsimile copy: 

(u) This may well have been the same Horminiu who was a Lector-Priest of Horus the Edfuite and whose small limestone stela from Hieraconpolis, dated by Porter–Moss (*Top. Bibl.* v, 200) 'probably' to the 'late Middle Kingdom', is now in the Louvre (C. 228; Chassinat, *Bull. inst. fr.* x, 164). From the names of Horminiu's father, mother, and brother, given on the Louvre stela, it is clear that he was not a member of Horemkhauef's immediate family—a circumstance also indicated on our stela by the listing of his name after those of the sons and daughters of the owner. It is tempting to think that he was the lector-priest who either conducted Horemkhauef's funerary services or perhaps even composed the text of the stela. In the latter case, his name at the lower edge of the monument would be in the nature of a signature. It is interesting to note that on both stelae the sign  in the name Horminiu is written in unorthodox fashion. On the name itself see, further, Ranke, op. cit. 248, no. 21. Ranke's reference is to a Scribe and 'Count of Nekhen', named Horminiu, who lived during the early years of the Eighteenth Dynasty and whose interesting stela, evidently from Hieraconpolis, is in the Museo Archeologico in Florence (Schiaparelli, *Antichità egizie*, 288–90, no. 1567, cited in note (a), above). A daughter of the owner of this stela was also called Horminiu, and the name appears as that of the wife of the owner of a stela from Edfu, approximately contemporary with that of Horemkhauef (Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* xxix, 6–7).

Date and Significance of the Stela

The stela of Horemkha'uef is by no means an isolated example of its kind, but one of a large group of strikingly similar monuments produced in the neighbourhood of Hieraconpolis during the years which followed the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.¹ More than thirty small limestone stelae of this period from Edfu, just ten miles south of Kôm el Aḥmar, are of the same general dimensions as that of Horemkha'uef and display the same form, style of carving, and quality of workmanship, the same peculiarities in the hieroglyphic script, the same selection of formulae and the same phraseology in the texts, and nearly all the same divine and personal names which occur in the inscriptions of our present stela.² To this series may be added two stelae found at Hieraconpolis by Quibell,³ the stela of Horminiu from Hieraconpolis in the Louvre,⁴ and a stela with the name of King Djedneferrē Dudumosē from Gebelēn.⁵ In view of the extraordinary compactness of the group we can scarcely doubt that the monuments which belong to it were made by a single school of provincial craftsmen; are closely contemporary with one another; and represent, from the earliest to the latest example, the passage of a relatively brief span of years.

Only three royal names occur on the monuments of this group: that of King Djedneferrē Dudumosē I on the stela from Gebelēn, just mentioned, and probably also on a stela from Edfu,⁶ that of his successor, King Djedhotepre Dudumosē II on a second stela from Edfu,⁷ and that of Queen Sebkemsaef on a third stela from the same site.⁸ King Dudumosē (I?), Turin Papyrus, col. VII, no. 13,⁹ 'has been plausibly conjectured by Weill and others to have been the Timaïos' (Tutimaïos?) 'under whom, according to Manetho, the Hyksos conquest of Egypt was consummated'¹⁰—hence, the last independent ruler of the Thirteenth Dynasty.¹¹ Queen Sebkemsaef was the wife of King

¹ In speaking of the stelae from Edfu, Engelbach (*Ann. Serv.* XXII, 113) remarks: 'I have not yet seen a stela from here which could be put even as early as Amenemhêt III, the personal names nearly all being of the period beginning at the close of the XIIth dynasty and ending, perhaps, at the beginning of the XIVth dynasty.'

² Thirty-two of the Edfu stelae are listed, with references, by Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* XXIX, 5, note 1; another is published by Allen, *Egyptian Stelae in the Field Museum of Natural History* (Chicago), 18-19, no. 31664; and there are undoubtedly many others. Photographs of many of the stelae—for comparison with our plate—are published by Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine (CCG)*, IV, pls. 24, 34, 39, 49, nos. 329, 499, 537, 623; Barsanti, *Ann. Serv.* IX, pl. 1; Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* XXI, pl. 1; XXII, pl. 1; XXIII, 183, fig. 1, 185, fig. 2; Allen, op. cit., pl. v. The name Horemkha'uef occurs on three of the Edfu stelae (*Ann. Serv.* XVIII, 51; XXII, 132; XXIII, 185), and the names Sebkemsaef (female), Thuty, Yotefessonbe, and Horminiu also appear one or more times on the monuments of the series (see Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* XXIII, 129, 132, 134-5; Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* XXIX, 6-7).

³ *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. 46, 1, 6.

⁴ C. 228; Chassinat, *Bull. inst. fr.* x, 164.

⁵ Cairo 20533; Lange-Schäfer, op. cit. II, 136-8; IV, pl. 38; Daressy, *Rec. trav.* XIV, 26.

⁶ Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* XXI, 189-90. Only the king's personal name, Dudumosē, appears on this stela, but it has been assumed that Djedneferrē Dudumosē I is the king referred to (Chassinat, *Bull. inst. fr.* xxx, 301; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 309).

⁷ Barsanti, *Ann. Serv.* IX, 1-2, pl. 1. See also Chassinat, loc. cit.; Drioton-Vandier, op. cit. 279-80, 309; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 50, 400; Weill, *Fin du Moyen Empire*, 509-11, 864-5.

⁸ Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* XXII, 116, pl. 1, fig. 6.

⁹ Farina, *Papiro dei re*, 44.

¹⁰ Albright, *Bull. American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 99 (October 1945), 15 and n. 44.

¹¹ The succeeding eighteen kings of the dynasty having been vassals of the Hyksos.

Nubkheperre Inyotef,¹ whom Winlock in his most recent study of the Second Intermediate Period has established as the founder of Manetho's Sixteenth Dynasty, a family of Theban kings who followed immediately the ill-fated Dudumose as the native claimants to the throne of Egypt and who were contemporary with the first three Hyksos kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty.² Thus, the existing evidence points strongly to the conclusion that the group of stelae from Edfu and Hierakonpolis, including that of Horemkhauef in New York, must be dated to the last decades of the Thirteenth Dynasty, that is, to the period immediately preceding the Hyksos occupation of Memphis. This event, according to Winlock's estimate, took place in 1675 B.C.³

In view of its date, special interest attaches to two indisputable facts established by the text of our stela: (1) In Horemkhauef's day—that is, the late Thirteenth Dynasty—the king, whom we can scarcely doubt was an Egyptian, was in residence at It-towe, eighteen miles south of Memphis, on the boundary line between Upper and Lower Egypt.⁴ (2) With the exception of parts of the Delta,⁵ this king was the ruler of the whole of Egypt, his jurisdiction being accepted as a matter of course, certainly as far south as Hierakonpolis, and probably all the way to Nubia. Indeed, he was so well known throughout southern Upper Egypt that it was obviously regarded as unnecessary to mention his name, the reference in line 9 of our stela to 'the king' being all the identification that Horemkhauef and his contemporaries required. Moreover, one feels that the reference in the same line to It-towe is a purely casual one, and that Horemkhauef's initial statement to the effect that he was ordered to the 'Residence' would have been amply specific. Who in all the Southland could be so ignorant as not to know the name and ancient residence of the king of Egypt?

These two small items of information agree well with the viewpoint now held by modern scholars in regard to the Thirteenth Dynasty, a viewpoint expressed a few years ago in this journal by Smither, who says: 'Recent excavation has continued to reveal the power and importance of the Thirteenth Dynasty in Upper Egypt, and it now seems almost impossible, as well as unnecessary, to find room for any local kings in Upper Egypt contemporary with it.'⁶

The trip to It-towe was clearly the high point of Horemkhauef's rather humdrum, provincial existence. Certainly it is the only item of a genuinely biographical nature which the inscription contains. Just how the journey was arranged is a matter which permits of considerable speculation. Although the initiative in the affair is attributed

¹ Winlock, *JEA* x, 233, n. 5; Weill, *Fin du Moyen Empire*, 372.

² Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York, 1947), chap. vii. According to this reconstruction it was not until the reign of Khyan that the Hyksos completed the conquest of Upper Egypt.

³ Winlock, loc. cit. The date corresponds with the accession of the Hyksos king Salatis, founder of the Fifteenth Dynasty, which Albright (op. cit. 17) places at c. 1690–1680 B.C., with, however, a date for the seizure of 'Lower Egypt' by the earlier Hyksos princes 'not later than c. 1720 B.C.' (op. cit. 16). Albright believes also that 'in the time of Dede-mes' Salatis 'overran all Egypt'.

⁴ The palace and fortified city of It-towe, founded at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, continued in use as a royal residence throughout the history of Dynastic Egypt and down into Greek times. See the references cited in Gauthier, *Dict. Géog.* I, 124, and *Wb.* I, 150, and III, 370.

⁵ Nois was ruled by its local dynasty, Manetho's Fourteenth. Other portions were perhaps already in the hands of the Hyksos.

⁶ *JEA* xxv, 36.

on the stela (line 6) to a form of the god Horus himself, it is probable that Horemkha'uef received word from the capital that new temple images were ready for delivery or that the old ones, having served their purpose at a coronation or other festival, might now be taken home. We may hope, with Lansing,¹ that, while he was in the neighbourhood of It-towe, our Upper Egyptian priest found time to visit the pyramids at Gīzah and view the splendours of the great city of Memphis. Somehow, we may rather suppose that he did.

Op. cit. 39-40.

TEXTS OF ḤATSHEPSUT AND SETHOS I INSIDE SPEOS ARTEMIDOS^a

By H. W. FAIRMAN AND BERNHARD GRDSELOFF

IN November 1943 we took advantage of a visit to Speos Artemidos, primarily to collate the great inscription of Ḥatshepsut for Dr. Gardiner, to collate and copy all the other inscriptions of Ḥatshepsut and Sethos I within the Speos. We were also able to visit and copy the texts in the smaller Speos of Baṭn el Baḡarah, a short distance to the east, which was recently discovered and published by Ahmed Fakhry.^b Since Dr.

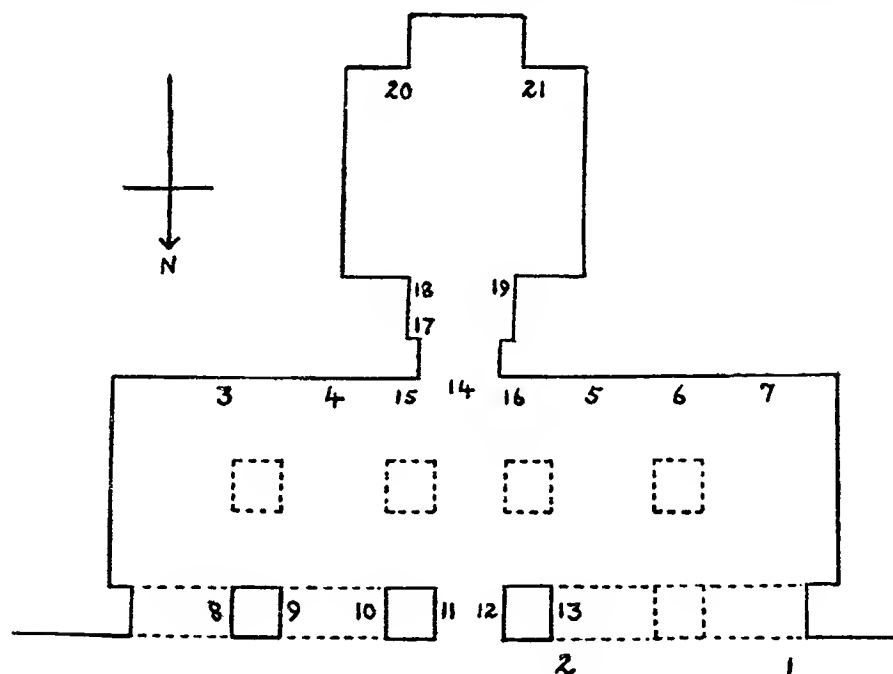


FIG. 1

Speos Artemidos: sketch plan (after Leps., *Denkm.*, Text, II, 108).

Gardiner has published the famous text of Ḥatshepsut,^c we have thought this a suitable occasion to present a new edition of the other texts, some of which, as far as we are aware, have never been translated or studied.

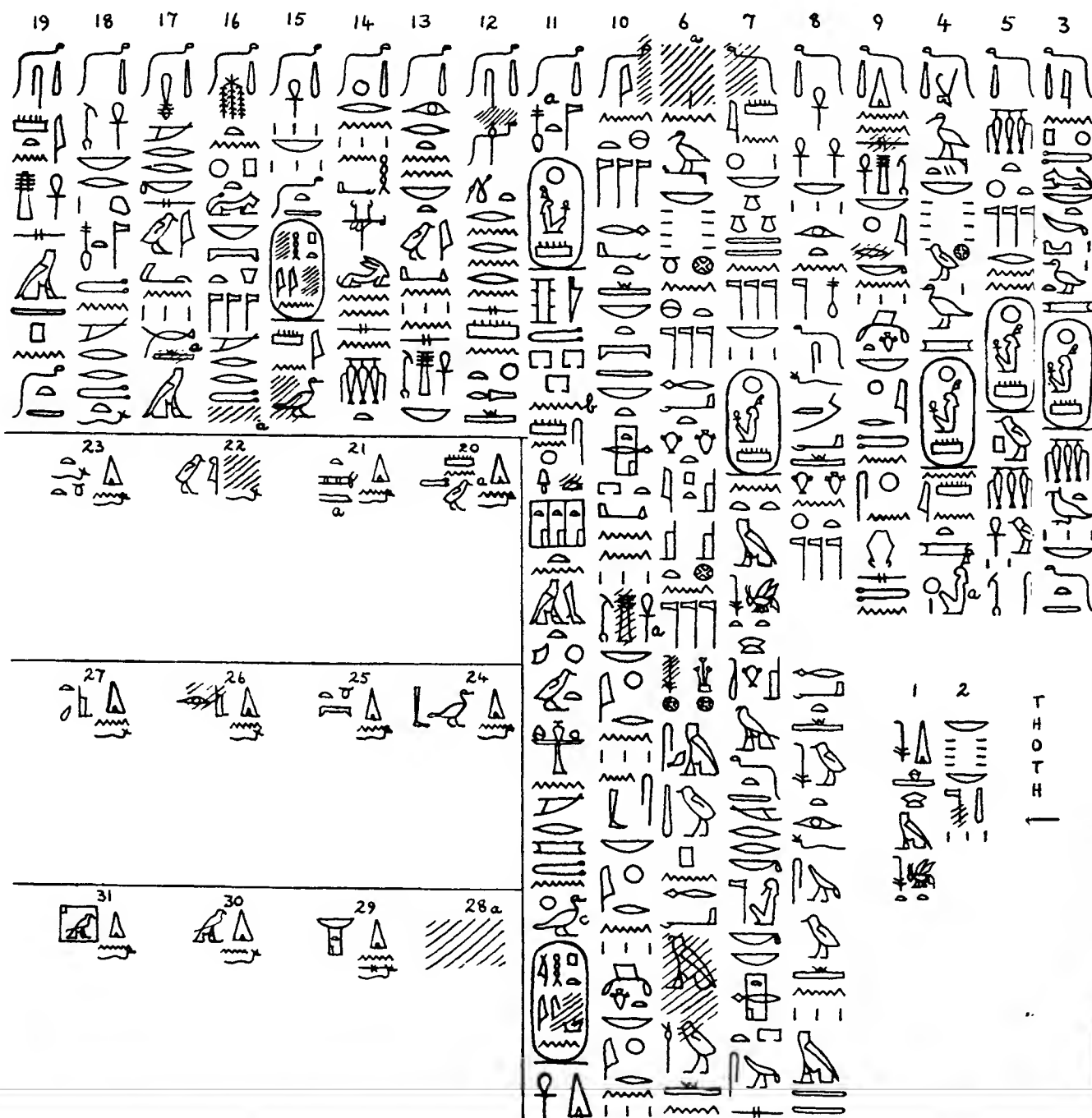
Speos Artemidos, or Iṣṭabl 'Antar as it is known locally, lies on the south side and near to the mouth of a small, rocky, and picturesque valley about a mile to the south of the Beni Ḥasan tombs. The Speos has been cut out of the living rock and consists of two chambers: a larger, outer vestibule or Portico, and a small inner Sanctuary with which it is connected by a short passage (fig. 1). The roof of the Portico was originally

^a The superior letters refer to the footnotes, the superior figures to the notes of the Commentary which follows certain sections of the translation.

^b *Ann. Serv.* xxxix, 709-23. We hope to publish a new edition of these texts in a later volume of this *Journal*.

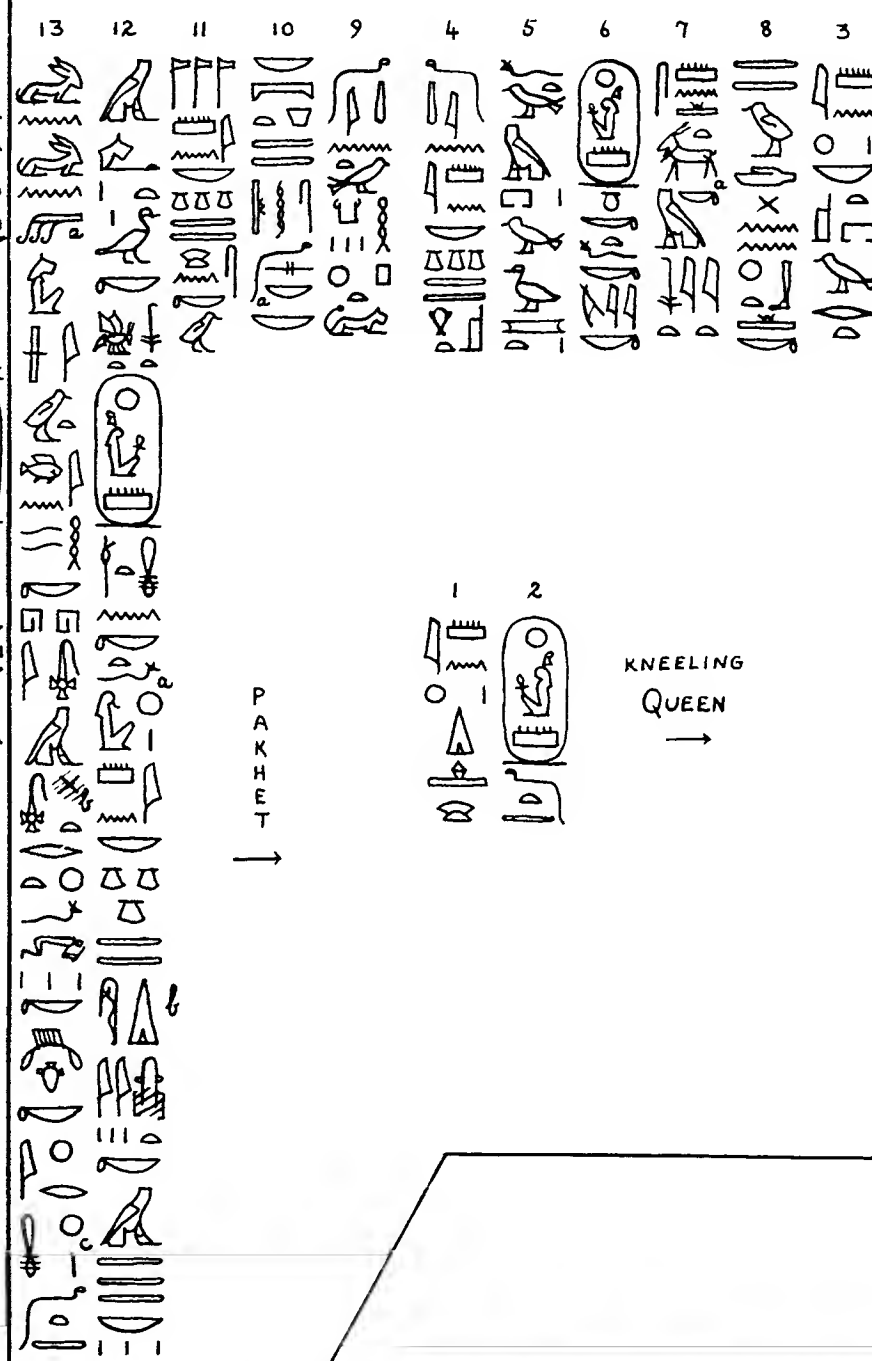
^c *JEA* xxxii, 43 ff., with pl. 6.

3.

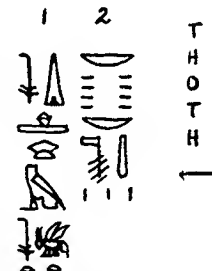


3.

4.



4.

KNEELING
QUEEN
→AMÜN
SEATED
→P A K H E T
→

Notes. Text 3. 4.a. $\overline{\text{O}}$ a surcharge, \equiv being in green paint only. 6.a. Sethe $\overline{\text{O}}$ 4^{mm}. 10.a. Sethe $\overline{\text{O}}$ only. 11.a. No indication of mm ever having been here; see *Urk.* IV, 290, note (h). b. Sethe mm . c. Sethe $\overline{\text{O}}$. 16.a. Sethe mm . 17.a. \equiv damaged and much like \equiv . 20.a. Here and in foll. lines \equiv is a surcharge over an original \equiv , often cutting across mm . 21.a. \equiv in red paint only. 28.a. All erased. 29.a. Trs. of \equiv with \equiv in partial surcharge. Text 4. 7.a. Sethe $\overline{\text{O}}$. 10.a. Sic; Sethe $\overline{\text{O}}$. 12.a. Sethe inserts \equiv , it. k. 13.a. Sethe and Champollion \equiv . b. Trs only. c. Sethe $\overline{\text{O}}$. 12.b. Sethe Δ [2], see footnote to translation.

5. 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 2 3 5

PAKHET SEATED
↑

1
↑

KING STANDING
↑

5. 6. 10 9 8 7 6 1 2

PAKHET
↑

KING
↑

13 12 11

7. 9 8 7 6 2 3

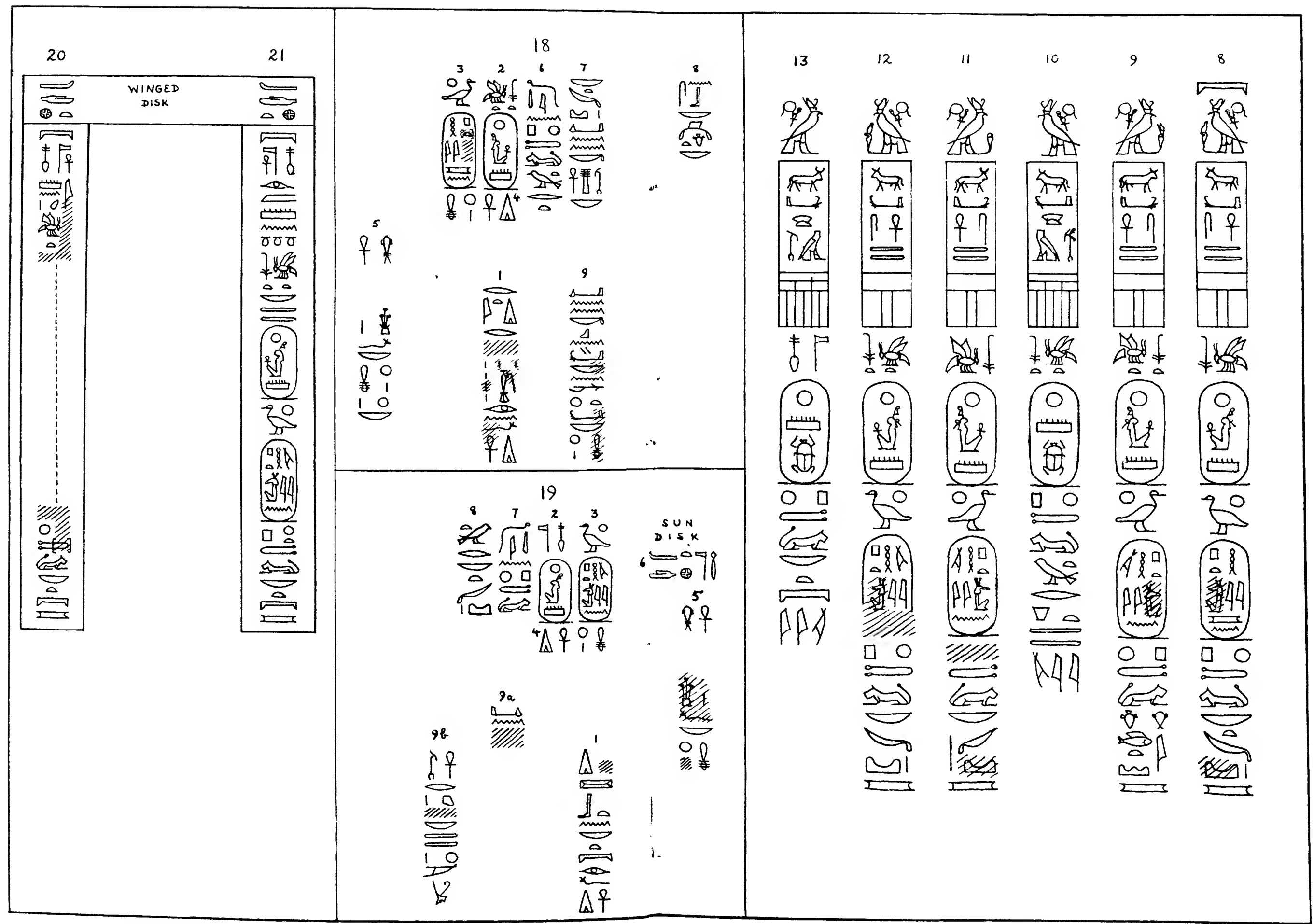
1

5 10 7

Notes. Text 6. 7.a. Sethe —. 10.a. Sethe omits. b-c. Sethe omits. Bandeau. a. Scratched below the line.

<p>14.</p> <p>10 KING RUNNING →</p> <p>PAKHET SEATED →</p> <p>14.</p>	<p>15.</p> <p>KING →</p> <p>15.</p>
<p>14.</p> <p>PAKHET SEATED →</p> <p>14.</p>	<p>16.</p> <p>KING →</p> <p>16.</p>

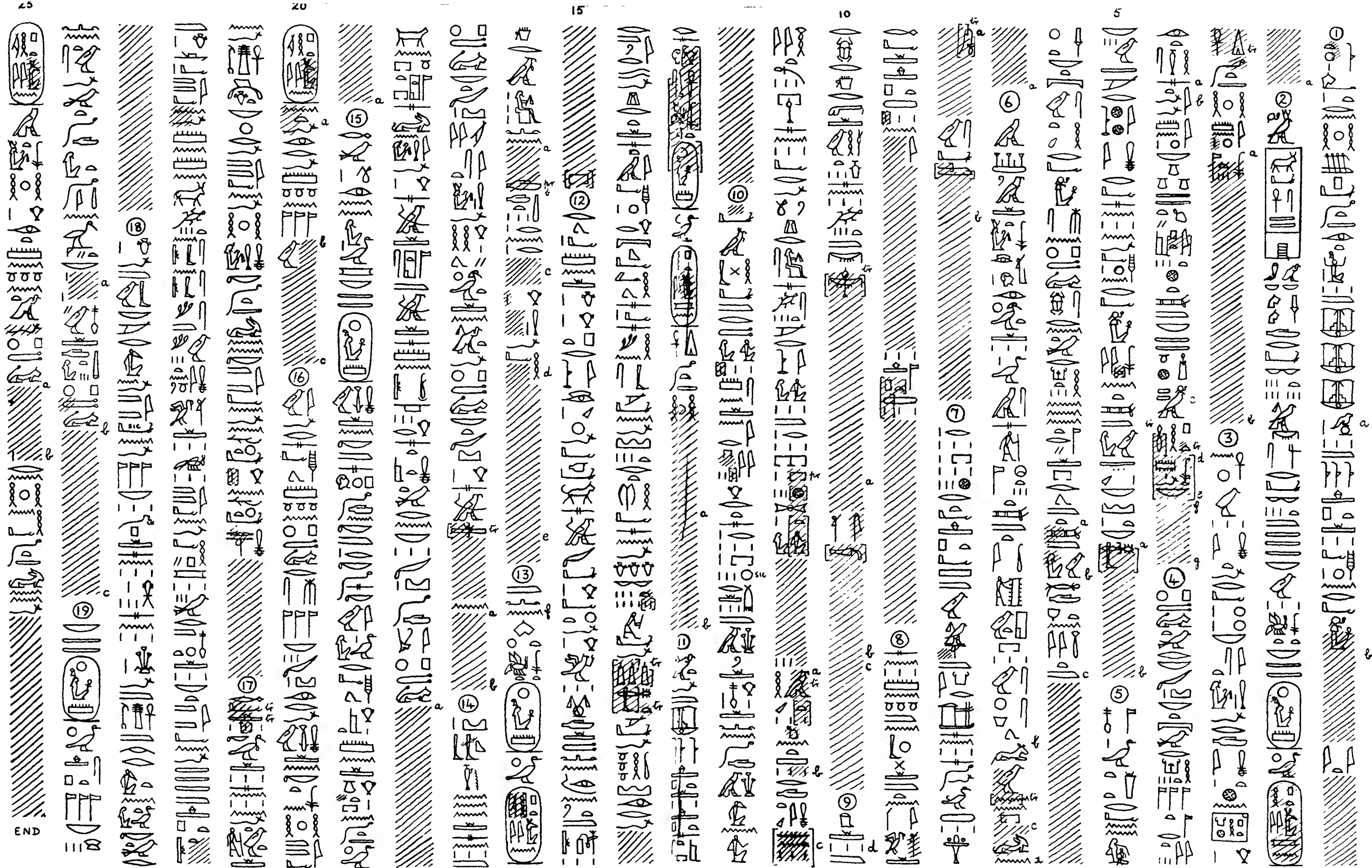
SPEOS ARTEMIDOS
Door of Sanctuary



Niche in Sanctuary

Passage

Portico



Notes. Length of line 190 cm.; average length of lacuna at end ca. 40 cm. In foll. nn. R = de Bougé. 1. a. R. . 1. b-2a. Rest. perh. . 3a-b. Rest. . 4. a. R. . b. R. 4^o only. c. R. . d-e. Rest. from R. f-g. Rest. . 5a-b. Rest. . 6a-b. R. . 6c-7a. R. . 7. b-d. R. omits. c. Rest. . 8. a-b. Rest. ; slight tr. of H; R. saw =. 10. a-b. Rest. . 11. a-b. Only trs. seen by R. c. rest from R. 13a-b. Rest. . 16a-b. Rest. . c. Rest. . d. Rest. . e-f. Rest. sic. 17a-b. Rest. of l. 16 of the original. 18a-19a. Rest. . 20a. The trs. suit; R. . b-c. Rest. of l. 16 below. 24. a. Rest. ; grouping does not suit . b-c. Rest. . 25. a-b. Rest. of l. 4 of the original.

supported by two rows of four pillars, of which only the three easternmost of the row forming the façade still survive, these pillars being inscribed on their eastern and western faces. The rock above the pillars forming the façade has been dressed and the western portion bears the great text of Hatshepsut (fig. 1, 1-2).^a In the Portico itself only the south wall has been decorated with scenes and texts originally inscribed by Hatshepsut and subsequently restored and usurped by Sethos I, who added dedication texts below the existing scenes (fig. 1, 3-4 and 5-7) to left and right of the door to the Sanctuary.

The Sanctuary, which is roughly square in shape, did not receive any decoration in the time of Hatshepsut, but Sethos I added texts in the thickness of the door (fig. 1, 17-19) and round the statue-niche high up in the south wall (fig. 1, 20, 21). All other wall-surfaces are uninscribed and only roughly dressed.

The history of Speos Artemidos is difficult to establish with exactitude. It is certain that it was originally the work of Hatshepsut and that Sethos I 'restored' it and added other texts of his own, but it is not so obvious whether his 'restoration' was merely the usurpation of scenes of Hatshepsut and the repairing of the ravages of time, or whether previous kings had already altered or damaged the monument. We could find no traces of the cutting out of the name of Amūn and it appears probable, therefore, that the Speos was neglected or overlooked in the 'Amārnah Age. It would be natural to expect that all the texts of Hatshepsut should have been altered by Tuthmosis III, for this is what happened at Baṭn el Baḡarah and the name of Tuthmosis III appears on the pillars, but this cannot be proved. Nowhere on the south wall of the Portico could we find any trace of the name *Mn-hpr-R* and it is noteworthy that in the cartouches on the same wall the signs $\text{ⲙ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲙ} \text{ⲙ}$ seem to be original and it is only the final element that has been altered.^b It is possible, but not certain, therefore, that Tuthmosis III did not alter the texts of Hatshepsut and that Sethos I made genuine restorations, in addition to usurping the monument, the Speos having presumably been abandoned and having fallen into disrepair before his accession.

I. The Reading of the Name $\text{ⲙ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲙ} \text{ⲙ}$

In the inscriptions of Speos Artemidos the name of the little valley in which it is situated is normally written $\text{ⲙ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲙ} \text{ⲙ}$. Hitherto most scholars appear to have been content to adopt Sethe's rendering 'Messerberg' and to leave the question of transliteration open, the only published readings being those of Fakhry who suggested *Set*,^c and Maspero who advocated *Sait*.^d Since Dr. Gardiner has informed us, in answer to our inquiry, that in the note which he had already prepared for his forthcoming edition of the *Onomastica* (under No. 381 A) he had indicated that the reading was still doubtful, some further consideration of the reading may be useful.


^a A view of the façade is published in M. A. Murray, *Egyptian Temples*, pl. 8. The Speos is now protected by a grille and door.


^b So also Sethe's edition of the texts does not indicate any alteration of $\text{ⲙ} \text{ⲛ} \text{ⲙ} \text{ⲙ}$, which would be expected if an original *Mṛt-kṛ-R* had been altered first to *Mn-hpr-R* and then to *Mn-mṛt-R*. (But cf. p. 16, n. f-g below.) It should be noted that on the south wall of the Portico the original scenes and texts of Hatshepsut are in relief, and the alterations have been effected in most instances by covering with plaster in which the added signs were faintly modelled; only rarely, as far as we could see, had a sign been chiselled out and a new one added in plaster.


^c *Ann. Serv.* XXXIX, 719.


^d *PSB.A*, 1891, 519 ff.

The following spellings are known to us:^a

(a)  : Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 18.


(b)  : Newberry, op. cit. I, pl. 24.


(c)  : normal form at Speos Artemidos.


(d)  : pl. V, No. 15, line 8; *Ann. Serv.* xxxix, 714; small speos of Alexander II west of Speos Artemidos (unpublished).











(e)  :^b pl. IV, No. 7, line 10.







(f)  : Stela Leyden V. 1 = Boeser, *Beschreibung*, III, pl. 1, 15.





(g)  : Budge, *Greenfield Papyrus*, pl. 75, 6.

(h)  : *Ann. Serv.* xv, 273 = Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschr.* I, Taf. 93, 9.


(i)  : Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, vi, 44, 16.





It is significant that the two earliest spellings (nos. *a* and *b*) either use  alone or replace  by  as determinative. It is unlikely, therefore, that  has any phonetic value, its function appears to be that of a determinative and the reading *Sit-dw* must be excluded from consideration. The Beni Hasan examples indicate further that the whole reading must lie in , and that  must have a value equivalent to that of  in our (*b*), where it is evident that  is a phonetic determinative and that  is the real determinative, employed in other examples as a phonogram. The spelling (*b*) also indicates that there is a connexion with  'sheep' (*Wb.* III, 462, 14) and suggests the reading *srt*.

That this suggestion is likely to be correct is shown by  (*h*), a writing which is undoubtedly influenced by the decan  *srt*, Greek Σρω (*Wb.* III, 463).^c A further indication of the phonetic identity of  and  *srt* is furnished by the divine name  i.e. *srpt* ⲥⲁⲣⲡⲟⲩ, *msi* ⲙⲟⲩⲓ and *sriw* ⲥⲣⲟ, rendered in Greek Σερφουθ μωϊσρω.^e Accordingly, we suggest that  is to be read *Srt* 'Srō'.

It remains to establish the connexion of  with *srt*. The word of origin is clearly  'thorn' (*Wb.* IV, 190)^f and we are inclined to suggest that the knife  is employed to convey the idea of the piercing, cutting nature of . This suggestion may perhaps find some support in the inscriptions of the 'bandeaux' where Pakhet is referred to as 'Pakhet the great, Mistress of Srō, in her temple of the inaccessible valley which she hewed out herself' (see pls. III and IV, p. 21 below). Thus Pakhet is said to have carved

^a We owe nos. (*f*), (*g*), and (*i*) to Dr. Gardiner.

^b For the exact form of  see pl. IV.




^c Note the interesting spelling  (Lefébure, *Le Tombeau de Seti I^{er}*, 4^e partie, pl. 36): in the original  has four stars along its back and another three under its belly. Dr. Gardiner points out that  is not, strictly speaking, a variant of the place-name ; the writing suggests a decan or constellation as *alternative* to the place-name.

^d Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, pl. 77.

^e *Wb.* IV, 195, 3. Cf. Griffith-Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, p. 22, note on col. i, line 12.

^f This has also been pointed out to us by Dr. Gardiner, who comments that Coptic ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲉ: ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓ shows that the *r* has survived and speaks against any reading *St*, *Sit-dw*.

^g See also Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte*, 66-7, who rightly stresses that the Edfu spelling, (*i*) above, suggests the idea of cutting in a mountainous district. We know of no evidence to support his further contention that the Speos was cut in Dyn. XII.

out of the mountain the valley in which lies Speos Artemidos and the smaller shrine of Baṭn el Baḡarah and we have a possible explanation of the employment of the 'knife'  and the 'valley'  in writings of Srō. It should be noted also that Pakhet and the thorn are actually placed in parallel in  ^{sic} 'made in the image of Pakhet which flies (as) a thorn in the face of men'.

II. Texts on the South Wall of the Portico originally inscribed by Ḥatshepsut

In this section we translate only those texts which were originally inscribed by Ḥatshepsut and were subsequently restored and usurped by Sethos I. Some of these texts (fig. 1, 3, 4, and 6) have been published in whole or in part by Sethe, *Urk.* iv, 289, 5-291, 2 (= No. 3), 285, 2-6 and 286, 10-287, 3 (= No. 4),^b and 287, 5-9 (= No. 6),^c and translations of them will be found in Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie bearbeitet und übersetzt*, I, 130-3. For complete references to previous publications see Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* iv, 164. The dedication texts of Sethos I, which were added below Nos. 4-3, 5-7, are studied below, p. 21.

Whereas in Pls. III-VII we have reproduced the actual state of the monument, in our translations we attempt to give what we believe was the original version of Ḥatshepsut. All words which were subsequently altered under Sethos I are given in heavy type in the translation. The majority of the alterations are sufficiently obvious not to need further comment^d and have been listed in *Urk.* iv, 285-91.

A. Texts to the left of the door of the Sanctuary

1. *Amen-Rēc proclaims the kingship of Ḥatshepsut*^e (fig. 1, 4; pl. III).

On a low pedestal is a light canopy under which, to the right, sits Amen-Rēc on a throne. To the left, in front of the pedestal, stands Weret-Ḥekau-Pakhet, lion-headed with disk on her head, with left hand extended towards the kneeling Queen who is in front of her facing Amen-Rēc.

Title: (1) *An offering which Amen-Rēc gives at the appearance* (2) *of Makerēc for ever.*



Before Amen-Rēc: (3) *Amen-Rēc, Lord of the Great Seat.*

Speech of Amen-Rēc: (4) *Utterance by Amen-Rēc, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, who is on his great seat* (5) *in the Great House* (Pr-wr): 'O my beloved **daughter** (6) **Makerēc**, I am **thy** beloved father. (7) 'I establish (for) thee **thy rank**^f in the kingship (8) of the Two Lands. I have fixed **thy** titulary.'





^a Sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibrēc, 429-30 = Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre*, p. 130. For the interpretation of the passage cf. *Two Brothers* 18, 4, where *p'i* is used with reference to the flight of a splinter of wood.

^b Wrongly ascribed by Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* iv, 164, to Text 5.

^c The forms of signs as given by Sethe are not always exact. It has not been thought necessary to indicate these in the notes.

^d They consist mainly in the substitution of  for an original .

^e Champollion, *Not. Descr.* II, 327-9; II. 3-8 = *Urk.* iv, 285, 2-6; II. 9-13 = *ibid.*, 286, 10-287, 1; the relief, without texts, Champollion, *Mon.*, pl. 385, 4. See also p. 16, n. e; p. 18, n. e. In this and all other scenes on the south wall the royal figure is male.

^f Read: *smn 'i n' t s'ht m nswyt trwy*, cf. *Urk.* iv, 264, 2, 16; 281, 4; 242, 7; 200, 8. Sethe translated 'der deine Würde festsetzte als Herr des Königtums der beiden Länder', but , and not  as given by Sethe, is clear and is a correction over an original  or .

Speech of Weret-Hekau-Pakhet: (9) *Utterance by Weret-Hekau-Pakhet*, (10) *Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands*: 'Seat thyself (in Pr-wr),^a O Lord (11) of the Gods, when thou hast installed me (12) on the brow of thy daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makerē, even as (thy) father Rē has commanded thee, O Amūn, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. I^b place the fear of thee in all lands. (13) I rear myself up between thine eyebrows, my fiery breath being as a fire against thine enemies and thou art glad through me like Rē for ever.'

Behind Amen-Rē:^c (14) *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaṛrē, Son of Rē of his body, Lord of Diadems, Seti-merenptah, who restores the monument of his^d father for ever.*

2. *Thoth announces the accession of Hatshepsut to the Great Ennead*^e (fig. 1, 3; pl. III).

Thoth with outstretched arm stands on the right and addresses the Ennead. Although Pakhet is expressly mentioned (line 3), she is not actually depicted.

Title: (1) *An offering given by the King who appears as King of Upper and Lower Egypt.*

Before Thoth: (2) *The Lord of Eshmūnēn, Master of the Divine Words.*

Pakhet: (3) *Utterance by Pakhet, Mistress of Srō*: 'My beloved daughter Makerē who is at the head of all the common people for ever.'

Above Thoth: (4) *Utterance by Thoth, Lord of Eshmūnēn*: 'My beloved daughter Makerē,^f as the name of Amūn (5) is at the head of the Ennead, so the name of Makerē is at the head of all the living for ever.'^g

Thoth's address to the Ennead: (6) *Utterance by Thoth, Lord of Eshmūnēn to the Great Ennead which is in Karnak (Ipt-swt) and to the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt*: 'Hearken to this great decree which (7) Amen-Rē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, has issued^h to all the gods: "It is Makerē who will be King of Upper and Lower Egypt,

^a Sethe's translation 'Du erfreutest dich' is most unsatisfactory and, moreover, disregards the parallel from El-Kāb (*Urk.* iv, 287, 5). The scribe or sculptor of the Speos Artemidos text altered slightly the order of the phrases as recorded at El-Kāb and in so doing, we suggest, omitted the words *in Pr-wr*.

^b Read $\Delta[\overline{\text{N}}]$ as Sethe has suggested; cf. *wmen-i* in l. 13. *Wrt-hkww* now turns and addresses Hatshepsut. The restorer has made a triple error, for there was no necessity in the first place to change the suffix which refers to *Wrt-hkww*. Nevertheless he made the change, wrongly putting $\overline{\text{N}}$, which is meaningless in the context, still with reference to the goddess. Finally, recognizing his error, he put a vertical — over $\overline{\text{N}}$. Sethe omitted to note these changes. The scribe of Sethos I appears to have construed this passage as 'Amūn, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, will put fear of thee in all lands'.

^c It is doubtful whether this line forms part of the original text and it was probably added by Sethos I.

^d $\overline{\text{N}}$ sic for $\overline{\text{N}}$.

^e Leps., *Denkm.* III, 26 (7); Lepsius, *Über den ersten ägyptischen Götterkreis* in *Abh. Preuss. Akad.* 1851, Taf. 1 (11); Champollion, *Not. Descr.* II, 330-1, 328; ll. 6-19 = *Urk.* iv, 289, 5-291, 3.



^{f-g} We are unable to translate the end of line 4 as it stands. We consider that this portion of the text has probably undergone at least two changes. We suggest that the original version, on which our translation is based, read, after *Mrt-ki-Rr, rn n Imn pw hnti Psdt*, etc. (cf. *Urk.* iv, 347, 2-3; 210, 2-3; 298, 7-8). This was altered (under Tuthmosis III?) in a manner which we cannot establish. This altered version was not understood by the scribes of Sethos I, who in inserting the name of the King obliterated *rn* (though it is also possible that this was done in the earlier alteration) and made other changes which are not clear. $\overline{\text{N}}$ at the end of line 5 does not appear to be original and may be, we suggest, a surcharge over an original — .

^h Lit. 'this great word which . . . has commanded to'.

ⁱ *ntt m* with future meaning has a strange appearance, but the future is essential since we are concerned with a decree announcing the accession of the Queen. Although we cannot quote any other examples of *ntt m* used

appearing on the Throne of Horus for ever. The beloved of her god,^a (to wit) the Lord of the Great Mansion, she shall guide (8) all the living.” That which the good god himself has done is right in the heart of the Great Ennead. It is she^b who shall lead us^c in the Two Lands. (9) Give ye^d to her all life, stability, and prosperity (that issue) from^e yourselves,^f all joy (that issues) from^e yourselves, that she may consort with you.’

The reply of the Ennead: (10) Utterance by the Great Ennead, Lord of heaven and earth, Lord of the Great Mansion: ‘We have given all life, stability, and prosperity (that issue) from^e us, all health (that issues) from^e us and all joy (that issues) from^e us (11) (to)^g the good goddess Makerē, who builds our temples, who restores our fanes, who renews our altars, she who is beloved of us, (even) the daughter of Rē, Ḥnmt-’Imn-ḥt-špswt, granted life, (12) who establishes (our)^h names and restores (13) all that we have made. We give to her and to her Ka all life, stability, and prosperity (14) (that issue) from us. Theyⁱ shall be at the head of (15) all the living for ever, Ḥnmt-’Imn-ḥt-špswt, Daughter of Amūn, (16) born of Pakhet, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods, whom [we]^j love (17) even as thou lovest her. Our arm(s) are filled with (18) all life and prosperity for the nose of this good goddess whom her father (19) Amūn loves, that she may live and endure in this land for ever.’^k

Below lines 12–19 is the company of twelve gods in three rows: Month, Atum, Shu, Tphēnis, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, [Seth], Nephthys, Horus, and Ḥathōr. Before each name is  cut over an original , i.e. the god X gives to her life etc.).





B. Texts to the right of the door of the Sanctuary



1. Hatshepsut offers incense and libations to Pakhet^l (fig. 1, 5; pl. IV).


The Queen stands on the right facing Pakhet who is seated on a throne.




Title: (1) Offering incense and libations.

in this way, the use of *m* in certain contexts with reference to the future has been noted by Grdseloff, *Ann. Serv.* XLII, 50, n. (d).




^a We assume that the primitive text was . Sethe presumes that the original had  instead of , i.e. *ntr* *g*, and translates ‘von der der grosse Gott, der Herr des grossen Hauses will, dass sie alle Lebenden leite’. We consider it unlikely that the scribe would have corrected an original , if it had really stood there.


^b Translated by Gunn, *Syntax*, 51, No. 49. Sethe suggested that the words *szet irf* did not form part of the primitive text. This suggestion is not likely to be correct, and there seem to be slight, but not absolutely certain, indications that  is a surcharge; read therefore .



^c Sethe’s proposed emendation  is possible, but not imperative.

^d The scribe apparently omitted  or  after ; read *di-’t, n*.

^e Cf. Lefebvre, *Gramm.*, § 494, 5 (a).

^f The scribe unthinkingly changed the suffix 2nd pers. plural into . Sethe’s  is not impossible, but we thought to see a damaged and unusually small .

^g There is no room for Sethe’s postulated , though the sense requires it. There is no loss at this point either at the end of line 10 or at the beginning of line 11.

^h Reading *rw* ‘*n*’, the suffix, often written in this text as simple , having been omitted in error after the final  of *rw*.

ⁱ I.e. Hatshepsut and her Ka.

^j Room for [---], suffix 1st pers. plural.

^k Or alternatively Sethe’s ‘von der ihr Vater Amon will, dass sie lebe und dauere in diesem Lande ewiglich’. Our proposed translation accords better, however, with the general tenor of the passage.

^l Champollion, *Mon.*, pl. 310, 1, where the scene is wrongly assigned to Thebes. The authorities quoted in Porter–Moss, op. cit. IV, 164 (5) refer in reality to Text 4, pl. III.

Above the Queen: (2) *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makerēc*, (3) *Daughter of Rēc*, *Hnmt-’Imn-ḥt-špswt*, (4) *granted life like Rēc for ever*.

Text of the Disk: (5) *Behdeti, great god*.

Speech of Pakhet: (6) *Utterance by Pakhet the great, Mistress of* (7) *Srō: O my beloved daughter, Mistress of the Two Lands, Mistress of the Ritual*, (8) *Makerēc. I give thee all strength*, (9) *all might, all lands* (10) *and every hill country crushed* (ḥtb)^a (11) *beneath thy sandals* (12) *like Rēc*.

Behind Pakhet:^b (13) *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt; the Horus who causes the Two Lands to live; who seizes the Beautiful Crown* (nfrt);^c *Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaṛrēc; Son of Rēc, Seti-meren*[ptaḥ], *beloved of Pakhet, Mistress of Srō*.

2. *Pakhet gives Hatshepsut two uraeus-sceptres*^d (fig. 1, 6; pl. IV).

On the left Pakhet, lion-headed with disk, horns, and 𓆎 feathers, extends a papyrus sceptre and *mnit* in each hand towards the Queen, who stands on the right. Each sceptre is crowned by a uraeus whose tail twines round the stem of the sceptre, the uraeus in the left hand wearing the White Crown, and that in the right hand the Red Crown. Above the Queen is the sun-disk with pendant uraei, that on the left of the beholder crowned with the Red Crown, and that on the right crowned with the White Crown.

Cartouches: (1) *The good god Makerēc*, (2) *Daughter of Rēc*, *Hnmt-’Imn-ḥt-špswt* (3) *granted life like Rēc for ever*.

Below the Disk: (4) *Behdeti, great god with dappled plumage*.

To the right of the Disk: (5) *Edjō who came forth from the horizon*.

Over Pakhet: (6) *Utterance by Pakhet the great*, (7) *Mistress of Srō: I give thee the two uraei* (8) *upon thy brow, they appear* (9) *between* (10) *thine eyebrows. The mnit is with thee, protecting thee, thou having appeared upon the throne of Horus*.

In front of Pakhet: (11) *I give thee all valour, all might*, (12) *all provisions, and all offerings* (13) *like Rēc for ever*.

3. *Hatshepsut before Thoth*^e (fig. 1, 7; pl. IV).

Title: (1) *Smelling offerings like Rēc*.

Above the Queen: (2) *The good god, Mistress of the Two Lands, Makerēc*, (3) *Daughter of Rēc*, *Hnmt-’Imn-ḥt-špswt*, (4) *granted life like Rēc for ever*.

Behind the Queen:^f (10) *The King, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaṛrēc, beloved of Pakhet the great, Mistress of Srō, will make (this) as his monument for his mother*. (5) *All protection and life are about him like Rēc*.

Above Thoth: (6) *Utterance by Thoth, Lord of Eshmūnēn*, (7) *great god, master of the divine words*:^g *O my beloved daughter*, (8) *Mistress of the Two Lands, Makerēc, I give*

^a For *ḥtb* see below, p. 27, n. 5 of the Commentary on Text 17, 4.

^b Like the corresponding line in Text 4, this line does not seem to have formed part of the original inscription; see p. 16, n. c.

^c Or alternatively, perhaps, *nfr-ḥdt* (Wb. 11, 262).

^d Champollion, *Not. Descr.* 11, 331; *Urk.* IV, 287, 5–9 (ll. 6–10 only); relief without texts Champollion, *Mon.*, pl. 385, 1.

^e Champollion, *Not. Descr.* 11, 332; Leps., *Denkm.* III, 138, i; op. cit., Text, 11, 110.

^f This line probably did not form part of the original text of Hatshepsut, cf. p. 16, n. c; above, n. b.

^g The scribe repeated 𓆎 instead of writing 𓆎.

⟨thee⟩^a (9) *all life and prosperity to thy nose, thou beloved of Rē̄r. I give thee Eternity free from evil and Everlasting composed of peaceful years.*^b

C. The Door to the Sanctuary

1. Left Jamb^c (fig. 1, 15; pl. V).

The Queen faces right in an attitude of adoration. Over the cartouches is the vulture Nekhbet with outspread wings.

Before the Queen: (1) [*Everyone who shall enter the temple, shall be very pure*]^d *for ever and ever.*

Above the Queen: (2) *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makerē̄r*, (3) [*Daughter of Rē̄r*], **Hnmt-’Imn-ḥt-špswt**, (4) *granted life like Rē̄r.*

Behind the Queen: (5) *Mighty king contented with Truth, who causes the gods to rest in their places.* (6) *All protection and life are round about her like Rē̄r.*

Text of Nekhbet: (7) *Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, Lady of Heaven.*

Text of Pakhet: (8) *Pakhet the great, Mistress of Srō, who gives all life.*

Horizontal line below the relief:^e (9) *The great portal ‘Menmaṛrē̄r, who pacifies the lords of Srō’.*

2. Right Jamb^c (fig. 1, 16; pl. V).

The scene is similar to that on the left jamb except that here it is Edjō who hovers over the cartouches.

Before the Queen: (1) *Everyone who shall enter the temple shall be very [pure] for ever and ever.*

Above the Queen: (2) *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makerē̄r*, (3) *Daughter of Rē̄r*, **Hnmt-’Imn-ḥt-špswt**, (4) *granted life* (5) *like Rē̄r for ever and ever.*

Behind the Queen: (6) *All protection and life are round about her.*

Text of Edjō: (7) *Edjō, Lady of Heaven.*

Text of Pakhet: (8) *Pakhet the great, Mistress of Srō, who gives all life.*

Horizontal line below the relief:^e (9) [*The great portal*] *‘Menmaṛrē̄r [who pacifies] the lords of Srō’.*

3. The Lintel^f (fig. 1, 14; pl. V).

(a) *Right-hand section.* On the left the lion-headed Pakhet sits on a throne. On the right the Queen, wearing the White Crown and carrying a ḥ-vase, runs towards her.

Title: (1) *Running fast and offering libations that there may be made for her* (2) *a given-life like Rē̄r for ever and ever.*

Before the Queen: (3) *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makerē̄r*, (4) *Daughter of Rē̄r*, **Hnmt-’Imn-ḥt-špswt**, (5) *granted life like Rē̄r every day.*

^a Suffix 2nd pers. sing. fem. omitted.

^b For a somewhat similar phrase cf. Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. 38, 8–9 = Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (Bibl. Aegypt. VIII), 147, 17.

^c Champollion, *Not. Descr.* II, 333.

^d Restored from the right jamb (Text 16).

^e This line added by Sethos I; the signs are incised, not in relief.

^f Ibid., 326, 327; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, Text, II, 109; Kees, *Nachlese zum Opfertanz des Ägyptischen Königs in Z.ÄS* LII, 66.

Behind the Queen: (6) *Protection and life.*

Over Pakhet: (8) *Utterance by Pakhet the great*, (9) *Mistress of Srō: I give thee all the valour (10) and all the might (11) of Rē^a (?) (12) every day like Rē.*

Behind Pakhet: (13) *Utterance: I give thee every land under thy orders for ever on the throne of Horus for ever.*

(b) *Left-hand section.* On the right the lion-headed Pakhet sits on a throne. On the left the Queen, wearing the Red Crown and carrying the *hpt* and oar, runs towards her.

Title: (1) *Running fast and offering libations^b* (2) *that there may be made for her a given-life like Rē every day.*

Above the Queen: (3) *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makerē*, (4) *Daughter of Rē*, *Hnmt-'Imn-ḥst-špswt*, (5) *granted life like Rē.*

Over Pakhet: (6) *Utterance by Pakhet* (7) *the great, Mistress of Srō: (8) I give thee all life and prosperity.*

Behind Pakhet: (9) *Utterance: I give thee all valour, all might, all health, and all joy like Rē for ever.*

III. Texts of the Pillars in the Portico (fig. 1, 8–13; pl. VI)

1. Easternmost Pillar

(a) *East Face* (fig. 1, 8).

Horus, Strong Bull who causes the Two Lands to Live; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmacrē; Son of Rē, Seti-merenptah; beloved of Pakhet, Mistress of Srō.

(b) *West Face* (fig. 1, 9).

Horus, Strong Bull who causes the Two Lands to live; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmacrē; Son of Rē, Seti-merenptah; beloved of Pakhet who resides in the Valley.

2. First Pillar to the east of the Entrance

(a) *East Face* (fig. 1, 10).

Horus, Strong Bull who appears in Thebes; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre; beloved of Pakhet the great, Mistress of the Two Lands.

(b) *West Face* (fig. 1, 11).

Horus, Strong Bull who causes the Two Lands to live; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmacrē; Son of Rē, Seti-merenptah; beloved of [Pakh]et, Mistress of Srō.

3. First Pillar to the west of the Entrance

(a) *East Face* (fig. 1, 12).

Horus, Strong Bull who causes the Two Lands to live; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmacrē; Son of Rē, Seti-mer[en]ptah; beloved of Pakhet, Mistress of Srō.

(b) *West Face* (fig. 1, 13).

Horus, Strong Bull who appears in Thebes; the Good God, Menkheperre; beloved of Pakhet, Lady of Heaven.

^a We presume that in passing from one line to the other and confused by \bigcirc^1 the scribe omitted $\bigcirc 1$.

^b Cf. the remarks of Kees in ZÄS LII, 65–6.

IV. Inscriptions of Sethos I

1. *Dedication Texts on the South Wall of the Portico*(a) *East Section* (fig. 1, 4-3; pl. III).




Long live the Horus, Strong Bull who causes [the Two Lands] to live; Two Mistresses, of very great strength, who repels the Nine Bows; Horus of Gold, rich in archers in all lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, descendant of the god[s], image of Rē, son of Amūn, Lord of the Two Lands, Menma¹crē; Son of Rē, who pacifies the gods, Seti-merenptah: he has made (this) as his monument to his mother Pakhet the great, Mistress of Srō, in her temple of the inaccessible Valley which she hewed out herself² like Rē.

(b) *West Section* (fig. 1, 5-7; pl. IV).

Long live the Horus, [Strong] Bull who causes the Two Lands to live; Two Mistresses, of very great strength, who repels the Nine Bows; Horus of Gold, rich in archers in all lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who seizes the Upper Egyptian Crown (nfr-ḥḏt), Lord of the Two Lands, Menma¹crē; Son of Rē, who pacifies the gods, Seti-merenptah: he has made (this) as his monument to his mother Pakhet the great, Mistress of Srō, in her temple of the inaccessible Valley which she hewed out herself² like Rē for ever and ever.

COMMENTARY

1. Note the form of *Mst*.

2. In spite of the grouping in pl. IV we consider that  must be regarded as the determinative of the expression *int štt*. For *sd* cf.  'who cleaves the mountains and opens the valleys';^a  'who cleave the mountain in order to let the Nile come'.^b See also *Rec. trav.* XXXVII, 84.

2. *The Great Dedication Text of Sethos I^c* (fig. 1, 17; pl. VII)

DATE

(1) *Year 1: the beginning of eternity,¹ the commencement of perpetuity,¹ the celebration of millions of jubilees and of hundreds of thousands^d of peaceful years, the duration of Rē [in heaven and the king]ship [of Atum on earth].^e*

TITULARY OF SETHOS I²

(2) *Horus, Strong Bull who causes the Two Lands to live; Two Mistresses, of very great strength, who repels the Nine Bows; Horus of Gold, rich in archers in all lands; King of*

^a Naville, *Le Papyrus hiératique de Katseshni au Musée du Caire*, pl. 11, 22; for varr. see Naville, *Todt.* 1, pl. 20; see also *Urk.* IV, 85, 11.

^b Pap. Leyden 345, Vs. F 2, 1; cf. Posener, *La première domination perse*, 106.

^c de Rougé, *Inscr. hiér.* 149-52; wrongly ascribed by de Rougé to the exterior.

^d This writing of *ḥfncw* with the stroke occurs in another inscription of Sethos I at Karnak (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, 11, 53).

^e The lacuna is too long to permit a restoration similar to the phrase in line 4. We cannot quote any literal N.K. parallel for the suggested restoration, which is a common cliché in later texts, but a somewhat similar phrase from Luxor is quoted by the *Wörterbuch* (*Belegstellen*, p. 487, to *Wb.* II, 333, 17); see also *Urk.* IV, 282, 9; *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character*, pl. 1, no. 5620, 11-12; *Inscr. dedic.* 27; Mariette, *Abydos*, App. B, pl. 30. For the writing of *nsyt* cf. Marriage Stela of Ramesses II, 16 = *Ann. Serv.* XXV, 200, and El Knais, *Inscr.* A, 7 = *Bull. inst. fr.* XVII, pl. 6, 7.

Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaꜣrē; Son of Rē, Seti-merenptah, granted life for ever and ever, [beloved of] Amen-Rē, King of the Gods [appearing on the throne of Horus of the]^a (3) living like his father Rē every day.

INTRODUCTION

Now His Majesty was at³ the quarter of Hwt-kꜣ-Pth doing the pleasure of his father Amen-Rē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, pre-eminent in Karnak (‘Ipt-swt), of Atum, Lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, of Rē-Ḥarakhti, of Ptaḥ the great, [Who-is-south-of-his-wall, Lord of ‘Ankhtōwe],^b (4) of Pakhet the great, Mistress of Srō, Lady of Heaven, the Sorceress, and of all the gods and goddesses of Timuris inasmuch as⁴ they give him the duration of Rē and the kingship of Atum, every lowland and every hill-country being over[thrown under his sandals for ever].⁵

PRAISE OF THE KING

*(5) The Good God,
son of Bastet, foster-child of Sakhmet, Lady of Heaven;
egg of Rē, born of Pakhet;
reared by the Sorceress, divine seed who came forth from Atum;
brought up by Edjō,⁶
. (6) properly.⁷*

*Vigilant and beneficent king,
eldest son of the entire Ennead,
who built the temples and enlarged the shrines^c which had become [cover]ed with [earth],⁸
[who] (7) the temples,
who caused the sacred images to rest in their shrines,^d
who supplied the great altar <with> the daily offerings,⁹
. the divine offerings
[who raised for] (8) them monuments in conformity with the canon,^e more numerous than
had existed aforetime,¹⁰
their numerous vessels being of gold, silver [and copper],
[their mn]it^g [being of gold and silver];*

^a For the proposed restoration see *Nauri* 2 = *JEA* xiii, pl. 40; cf. also Tutankhamūn Stela, Cairo 34183, 2 = Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (CCG), I, 226; *Kuban* 2 = Tresson, *La Stèle de Kouban*, p. 3 and pl. 1.




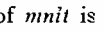
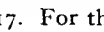
^b The same passage, with inversion of the order of Atum and Ḥarakhti and the substitution of Isis for Pakhet, occurs in *Nauri* 2. For *Pth rsi-inb-f nb ḥḥ-ti-xy* see also Pap. Harris I, 51 a, 2. 7, etc. = Erichsen, *Bibl. Aegypt.* v, 57, 4. 11, etc.

^c Cf. *Urk.* iv, 279, 10–11. *Hwt* and *ḥwn* occur not infrequently in parallel, e.g. Cairo 34183, 7 = Lacau, op. cit. I, 227.


^d The archaizing spelling *ḥmw* is unusual at this period but occurs again *Bull. inst. fr.* xvii, pl. 7, 9. For the phrase in general cf. *Nauri* 7 = *JEA* xiii, pl. 40; Pap. Harris I, 4, 10 = *Bibl. Aegypt.* v, 5, 7. The placing of the sacred images in their shrines is, of course, the natural sequel to the construction of the temple, e.g. Kuentz, *Deux Stèles d’Aménophis II*, 12.

^e *m ḥḥ*: *Wb.* II, 307, 17 ‘nach Vorschrift’. Cf. ‘the temple *ḥi-ni m ḥḥ* which I have ordered in conformity with the canon’ (*Urk.* iv, 835, 9).



^f The *wḏḥwt* can also be ‘offering-tables’ and are normally made of gold, silver, or copper; cf. Vikentiev, *La Haute Crue du Nil*, p. 19; *Urk.* iv, 817, 11.

^g The det.  of *mnit* is unusual, but this text has a preference for  instead of , e.g.  line 8,  line 17. For the materials from which the *mnit* are made cf. *Urk.* iv, 22, 11–12.

[their granaries are fill] (9) -ed¹¹ with grain,
 their treasuries contain¹² riches,
 slaves are multiplied^a in the temples,
 and serfs
 fields and gardens at [their] proper places,¹³
 (10) . . . provided^b with men who put the stones in place (?)^c
 The temples are superbly appointed,¹⁴
 without it (ever) being said 'If only I had' thereat,^d
 on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health^e of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
 Menma[rē], Son of Rē, Seti-merenptah, granted life for ever and ever.
¹⁵
 [whom] (11) his mother [rewarded]^f with jubilees and peaceful years.
 She has assumed her place^g between his eyebrows,
 her position^h being there (for) the duration of the sky.
 When she extends her arm,ⁱ
 she subjugates^j for him the foreign lands,
 and captures¹⁶ for him the hearts of the Nine Bows.
 He smites the Troglodytes,





^a For the spelling  cf. *Nauri* 20 = *JEA* XIII, pl. 40. For *ist* cf. *Nauri* 20. 26.

^b The primary meaning of *nḥb* is 'harness, yoke' (*Urk.* IV, 809, 7; Harris 500, vs. 4, 13; Pap. Chester Beatty I, vs. G 1, 3). Blackman, however, has pointed out (*JEA* XIX, 202) that this verb has an extended use 'to appoint' and quotes further exx. See also the note and further exx. quoted by Clère in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 463. For the precise nuance contained in the present example see *Urk.* IV, 28, 7; 172, 4. Just as horses are harnessed to a chariot, slaves are *nḥb* to a task.


^c  is presumably an error for . Cf. for the phrase *Inscr. dedic.* 54. In the lacuna at the end of line 9 there must have been a reference to one or more temples erected by Sethos I.

^d For this common cliché see *JEA* XI, 295, n. 9; Gunn, *Syntax*, p. 158, no. 151; Ptahhotep 105-6 L¹¹; 107-8; Prisse 6, 7; *Urk.* IV, 61, 1; 506, 8; El Knais, *Inscr. C*, 11 = *Bull. inst. fr.* XVII, pl. 7, 11; Cairo 34504, 12 = *Ann. Serv.* XXXVIII, 219; Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pl. 79, 9-10; Pap. Harris I, 27, 3; Vikentiev, *La Haute Crue du Nil*, p. 22. The general sense of the passage is clearly that the temples are so well equipped that no one feels that anything is lacking.


^e Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, § 178; Lefebvre, *Gramm.*, § 529. For M.K. exx. see Couyat-Montet, *Hammâmât*, 47, 5; Cairo 20543, 14 = Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine (CCG)*, II, 166.

^f For the suggested restoration cf.    'may he reward thee with jubilees' (Davies, *El Amarna*, VI, pl. 25, 18 = *Bibl. Aegypt.* VIII, 92, 12). Cf. also *Urk.* IV, 863, 9 ().

^g *hṭp st* is a not-uncommon cliché, e.g. Sphinx Stela of Amenophis II, 26 = *Ann. Serv.* XXXVII, fasc. 2, pl. 2; *Urk.* IV, 199, 14; 766, 17; Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, II, pl. 60; *Ann. Serv.* XIV, 18; Pap. Bremner-Rhind, 4, 12. Note that in this expression there is never a preposition between *hṭp* and *st* (a point overlooked by Faulkner in *Bibl. Aegypt.* III, 8, n. (a)). Pakhet is identified here with the uraeus, cf. pl. III, No. 4, 12; *Urk.* IV, 288, 2. See also *JEA* VI, 60.

^h For *hrt* 'post, position' cf. 'Now execute for me the obligation (*sdb*) there  as a man at his post' (Cairo 46540 = Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes (CCG)*, I, 7); cf. also *Urk.* IV, 181, 2.

ⁱ *ḳḥ-c*: normally refers to a ritual act, the 'bending up of the arm' by a king or priest towards a god, cf. *Wb.* V, 18; Polotsky in *JEA* XVI, 198 (22); Blackman, *Worship (Egyptian)*, I, 5 (3), in Hastings, *Encycl. Rel. Eth.* XII, 779; *Urk.* IV, 28, 17; 491, 16. Such an interpretation is not possible in the present instance where we are clearly concerned with a gesture of protection, blessing, or strengthening on the part of the goddess and directed towards the King. This usage is very rare and the only other example known to us occurs in Piankoff, *Le Livre des Quererts*, pl. 31, 1-2 (also printed with same plate numbering in *Bull. inst. fr.* XLII).

^j The scribe has placed the suffix  before the det. of *hnb* in order to form a square group with *b*.

he overthrows⁵ the Libyans,
and sets [his frontier where he will].¹⁷

.¹⁵

(I2) hero, stout-hearted on the battlefield,^a
the claw (?) of the lion¹⁸ that kills instantaneously in the presence of all men;
(the like) has not been seen in the records of the ancestors,¹⁹
the story has not been [repeat]ed <from> mouth to mouth,²⁰
[except] with reference to His Majesty him[self].^b
. [in the twink] (I3) -ling of an eye,^c
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmacrêr,
Son of Rêr, Seti-merenptah, beloved of Pakhet, Mistress of Srô.


RESTORATION OF THE SPEOS

Now His Majesty sought what was beneficial to his mother Pakhet, Mistress of Srô, in renewing [of the gods, the lords of Srô] (I4) so that they might find refreshment within her temple.^d His Majesty renewed her temple, fastening the doors therein^e like the Great Seat, for the lords of Srô.

PAKHET SPEAKS TO THOTH^f

Pakhet, [Mistress of Srô], said [to Thoth, Master of the divine words,^g 'Come, see this']^h (I5) very great and abiding [monument] which my beloved son, the Lord of the Two Lands, Menmacrêr, has made for me, according as thou didst order in time primeval, when thou didst say with thine own mouth, 'My son shall ascend the throne, abiding upon the seat for ever, (even) the Son of Rêr, Seti-merenptah. He shall make monuments for the gods [according as the King of Eternity has order]ed [him].^h (I6) He shall erect a monument to Pakhet and will fashion (the statues of) the gods, the lords of Srô.' May he do as thou hast commanded, O King of Eternity.

Give him all life, stability, and prosperity and joy (that come) from thee.ⁱ

^a For the spelling   for *pri* 'arena, battlefield', cf.   (de Rougé, *Inscr. hiér.* 108).

^b Cf. Sphinx Stela of Amenophis II, 17-18 = *Ann. Serv.* xxxvii, fasc. 2, pl. 2.



^c For other exx. of this expression see Mond-Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pl. 103, 6; Barkal Stela of Tuthmosis III, 6 = *ZÄS* LXIX, 27; *PSBA* XI, 424; Two Brothers 18, 5 = Gardiner, *L. E. Stories*, 28, 7; Lammeyer, *Das Siegesdenkmal des Königs Scheschonk I. zu Karnak*, p. 29.



^d —, of course, refers to Pakhet. For *hbb* cf. Westcar 5, 3-4; 6, 1-2; Pap. Chester Beatty VII, vs. 5, 7.

^e *Snn* means not only 'fix, establish' but also 'fasten', cf. *JEA* IV, 134. In the present context *snn* means not so much that the doors have been placed in position, but that they have been fastened or closed and the temple is complete and secure. See further Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin*, 103, n. 2; Lefebvre, *Romê-Roy*, p. 33 (*Inscr.* 16, 10); *Inscr. dedic.* 24.

^f That it is Thoth to whom the following words are addressed is evident from line 18 where Thoth makes reply.

^g For the proposed restoration cf. the very close parallel *Urk.* IV, 862, 5.

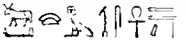
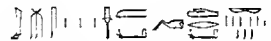


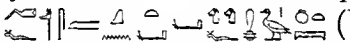

^h Note that in this text (ll. 15 and 16) the signs   occupy the width of the column; cf. Berlin 22663 = Schäfer, *Ein Relief aus der Zeit Tutanchamuns in Ber. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX, 34-40. For a close parallel with this sentence cf. *Inscr. dedic.* 67-8.

ⁱ Emend  for . For the construction, which is common (e.g. Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. 11 = Gunn, *Syntax*, 70; *Urk.* IV, 233; 250, 5), cf. Lefebvre, *Gramm.*, § 494, 5 a.

- (b) *šsp kḥkḥ* 'attain old age': *ḫw-k di(t) imḥ-f r šspw kḥkḥ* 'thou wilt suffer him to be in honour until the attaining of old age' (Sheshonḫ Stela, 1 = *JEA* xxvii, pl. 10 and p. 86, n. 8); *ḫw-k r šsp kḥkḥ mn-ti ḥri-tp t* 'thou shalt attain old age, abiding upon earth' (Sheshonḫ Stela, 6 = *JEA* xxvii, pl. 10).
- (c) *šsp wst* 'start a journey', *Urk.* iv, 979, 10; Leps., *Denkm.* III, 255 (i). Cf. *šsp-n-f tp-wst nfrt r mšc* 'after he had started to march with a favourable omen' (Selim Hasan, *Le Poème dit de Pentaour*, pl. 12).

2. The first three elements of the titulary of Sethos I are given here in abbreviated form, the scribe having reduced the component elements from three epithets to two, or from two to one. The present version of the titulary (see also pls. III and IV) is identical, except for minor differences in spelling, with that recorded on the alabaster stela of Sethos I in Cairo (Cairo 34501 = *Bibl. Aegypt.* iv, 1).



The usual forms of these names are:






- (a) Horus Name:  (Lefébure, *Le Tombeau de Seti I^{er}*, 3^e partie, pl. 11, 178).
- (b) Two Mistresses:  (Lefébure, loc. cit.). The  of our text (see also pls. III and IV) is rare in texts of Sethos I, but cf.  (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 45) in the Karnak reliefs of Sethos I, immediately after the titulary. It is also worthy of note that in inscriptions of Sethos I *ḥpš* and *pḥty* occur in parallel, e.g.  (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 41).
- (c) Horus of Gold:  (El Knais, *Inscr. A.* 1 = *Bull. inst. fr.* xvii, pl. 6, 1).


3. The parallel *Nauri* 2 (= *JEA* XIII, pl. 40) gives *m dmi n Ḥwt-k3-Pth*: there appears to be no real difference in meaning between *m* and *r* in this context. It may be of significance, however, that in similar expressions which we have collected there is a tendency for *r* to be used with *dmi*. Thus, in contrast with *m dmi n Ḥwt-k3-Pth* (*Nauri* 2), *m Ḥwt-k3-Pth* (*Kuban* 7) and *m Nwt rst* (Leps. *Denkm.*, Text, iv, 98), we have *r dmi n Ḥwt-k3-Pth*, the example under discussion, *m Nwt rst r dmi n Ipt-sw* (de Morgan, *Cat. des Mon.* 66: stela of Tuthmosis IV at Konosso), and *r dmi n Nwt rst* (*Ann. Serv.* III, 113). The Konosso text may hint, perhaps, that *m* gives the general, and *r* the particular indication of location, i.e. 'Now His Majesty was in the Southern City, (more precisely) in the quarter of Karnak', and *Ann. Serv.* III, 113 may mean: 'Now His Majesty was in (one of) the quarter(s) of the Southern City.' Thus *r dmi n Ḥwt-k3-Pth* may be an elliptical phrase conveying the general sense that the King was in that part of the city of Memphis called *Ḥwt-k3-Pth*. The forms *m dmi n Ḥwt-k3-Pth* and *m Ḥwt-k3-Pth* are not necessarily to be considered as actually wrong; they are, however, less precise and perhaps less idiomatic. Note that the examples quoted indicate that in this particular context *dmi* is not so much 'city' as 'quarter of a city'; cf. *Rec. trav.* xxvi, 85.

4. For *mi+sdm-f* in comparisons with causal nuance cf. Lefebvre, *Gramm.*, § 732 and p. 361, n. 2, where it is pointed out that *mi* often has this meaning in Dyn. XIX and examples from the reign of Sethos I are quoted. A very close parallel with our passage occurs in Cairo 34501, 12-13 (= *Bibl. Aegypt.* iv, 2, 3) 'His Majesty did this




with a loving heart in the house of his father Amūn *mī rdi-n.f n.f ḥrw n Rē nsyt nt Tm* inasmuch as he (Amūn) has given him the duration of Rē and the kingship of Atum'; see also *Nauri* 2-3 = *JEA* XIII, pl. 40; *Kuban* 7-8 = Tresson, *La Stèle de Kouban*, p. 4.

5. For the restoration see pl. III, No. 5, 10; for the determinative of *htb* see line 11 below. *Htb* 'overthrow' (*Wb.* III, 402) is to be distinguished from *hdb* 'slay' (*Wb.* III, 403), even though Egyptian writings sometimes confuse the words as in  (*Nauri* 3 = *JEA* XIII, pl. 40). *Htb* is usually employed with reference to the overthrow of the foreign lands 'under the sandals' of Pharaoh (pl. III, No. 5, 11; *Nauri* 3; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 53; *Urk.* IV, 271, 16), or 'under his feet' (Marriage Stela of Ramesses II = *Ann. Serv.* xxv, 207), or 'at his name',  (Colossus of Ramesses II, Luxor). Cf. also *htb-f Thnw* 'he overthrows the Libyans' (pl. VII, 11); *htb-sn dšrwt T:sti* 'they overthrow the deserts and Nubia' (El Knais, *Inscr.* B, 10 = *Bull. inst. fr.* xvii, pl. 7, 10); 'thou raisest up the generations (*d:mw*) of Timuris, *htb-k swt m nb ddw nsyt* but thou overthrowest (the other peoples) as the lord of enduring kingship' (*ZAS* XLIV, 32). *Htb* survives in Ptolemaic, e.g. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, I, 145, 2; VI, 196, 2.

6. The eighth of these epithets, grouped in pairs in a manner common to the royal inscriptions of the period, is difficult to complete. One would expect  as in  'foster child of Edjō, nursed by Sšmtt' (Cairo 34509, 3 = Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. 38B), but the *Wörterbuch* does not record a spelling . Perhaps the incomplete word was , cf.  (Marriage Stela of Ramesses II = *Ann. Serv.* xxv, 197).


If de Rougé's  be correct (all traces have now disappeared) there may have been a fifth pair of epithets, but it is difficult to see how two more epithets and the beginning of a new sentence could be fitted in the available space.





7. *m-šrw*: according to *Wb.* IV, 404, 16-17 'be worthy of' with genitive, hence the present passage might be translated 'worthy of a vigilant and beneficent king'. Grammatically there is no objection to this rendering, but here it is impossible since the words 'vigilant and beneficent king' appear to introduce a new stanza (cf. below, p. 30, n. 15). *M-šrw*, therefore, must be an adverb at the end of a short phrase which began in the lacuna at the end of line 5; cf. *r grg Kmt m-šrw* 'in order to organize Egypt in fitting manner' (Marriage Stela of Ramesses II = *Ann. Serv.* xxv, 197); *in ḥm-f ir m-šrw m mryt* 'It was His Majesty who made it in fitting manner and with love' (Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis I*, pl. 80, 20).

8. Slight but recognizable traces of  remain. For the restoration cf. 'Lo His Majesty found it  covered with earth' (*Ann. Serv.* xxiii, 182). See also *Inscr. dedic.* 30 (restoring ); *Urk.* IV, 834, 15; *JEA* xxxii, pl. 6, 15-16.




9. Our translation assumes that the scribe omitted *m* before *htpw*. For *sdf* 'provision, provide with offerings' cf. Pap. Harris I, 27, 1 = *Bibl. Aegypt.* v, 31, 5; *Inscr. dedic.* 24; Berlin Leather Roll P. 3029, 1, 16; *Urk.* IV, 163, 7; 173, 2.





Imnyt 'daily portion' has been studied by Grapow in *Sitzb. Berlin*, xxvii (1915), 376; additional exx., *Urk.* IV, 188, 10; 745, 16; 769, 12; Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis I*, pl. 79, 38.


from  'him of *Hbnw*' (Horus of Zāwiyet el-Amwāt, cf. *Wb.* III, 63, 12), i.e. 'She (Neith) places her uraeus on his head; she captures for him the hearts of the nobility; she subjugates for him the hearts of the common people'.



17. From very similar phrases such as Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 53, and *Ann. Serv.* xxxvi, pl. 2, it is evident that we have here three consecutive phrases of the type 'he smites A, he overthrows B, and sets his frontiers at C'. It is reasonably certain, therefore, that the first word in the lacuna was *tsš*, but what followed is not so easy to restore since a number of alternatives are possible. We ourselves are inclined to favour  since this occurs in an inscription of Sethos I (Wreszinski, op. cit. II, 41), but other possibilities are ^a (*Urk.* IV, 55, 4, Tuthmosis I; Wreszinski, op. cit. II, 53, Sethos I);  (*Ann. Serv.* xxxvi, pl. 2, Amenophis III; de Rougé, *Inscr. hiér.* 116, 20, Ramesses III); or  (Lammcyer, *Das Siegesdenkmal des Königs Scheschonk I. zu Karnak*, 28-9).

18. The beginning of the sentence is difficult to interpret. If *hfr* be regarded as *sḏm.f*, we have a clumsy phrase 'the lion seizes', with no predicate, a rendering which seems out of harmony with the context. If, on the other hand, *hfr* be regarded as a noun, 'the claw of the lion', it may be objected that *hfr* is the human 'fist' and not the 'claw' of a lion, though this is not necessarily an insurmountable obstacle since, if Egyptian can speak of a bird's 'wing' as its 'arm', it is not impossible that the lion's 'claw' or 'paw' should be called its 'fist'.

Another possibility that has occurred to us is to take   as a complete word *hfr(w)*, derived from *hfr* 'grasp', as a designation of the lion as the personification of the king, just as  designates a serpent (*Wb.* III, 273, 8: 'die Packende'). This would make excellent sense here, but we cannot quote any parallels.

19. Cf. 'Symbols that I have made by my own thought     and as a feat^b not found in the records of the Predecessors' (*Urk.* IV, 406, 10-11); *n mss·tw m gnwt nt Drtyw* '(the like) has not been seen in the records of the Ancestors' (ibid. 86, 3).

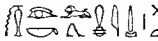
20.  'from mouth to mouth': for a similar omission of the preposition *m* cf. Cairo 48831, 7 = Korostovtsev in *Bull. inst. fr.* XLV, 157 and pl. 1; see also *Urk.* IV, 344, 2 = Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* § 463, 9; El Knais, *Inscr.* A 2 = *Bull. inst. fr.* XVII, pl. 5, 2; Wreszinski, *Wien*, p. 63. Egyptian has a fondness for such phrases; e.g. *m sš n sš* 'from son to son' (*Nauri* 22); *m w n w* 'from district to district' (*Nauri* 32, 43, 46, 68); *m w r n w r* 'from one to the other' (*Urk.* IV, 150, 1; 344, 12); *m hr n hr* (var. *m hr r hr*) 'from face to face' (Selim Hassan, *Le Poème dit de Pentaour*, pl. 60 A).

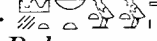

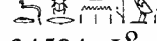
21. Warlike comparisons with Min are very rare. Cf. 'The fear of His Majesty is in this land  like that of Min in the year when he comes' (*Urk.* IV, 18, 7); 'majesty fills his body  like Min in a "year-of-fear"' (Kuentz, *Deux Stèles d'Amenophis II*, 8). See also Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, 180-1, who quotes

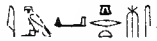
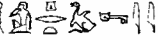
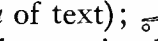
^a This is not sufficient, however, to fill the available space.

^b Read *m ir(t) simt*, and not *m ir(t) sht* as suggested by Gunn, *Syntax*, 191, and Drioton in *Ann. Serv.* xxxviii, 231-2. For *simt* cf. Erman, *Die Sphinxstele in Sitzb. Berlin. Akad.* XI (1904), 432; *Urk.* I, 138, 17; IV, 12, 11. 13. 15; 462, 13; 512, 16; *Rec. trav.* XI, 159.

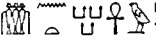



both these examples, neither of which, however, is likely to be restored in the passage under discussion.

For a Ptolemaic example, not quoted by Grapow, cf.  'Mayest thou be powerful like Him-with-the-outstretched-arm' (Rochemonteix-Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, I, 102, 11-12); cf. Blackman-Fairman in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 418, Commentary No. 70; *Bull. inst. fr.* XLIII, 121, n. 1.

22. Cf.  'every foreign land united in a single purpose' (MacIver-Woolley, *Buhen*, I, p. 91);  'they serve him united as one' (Colossus of Ramesses II, Luxor); 'I did all these things  that ye might be of one mind in working for me' (Cairo 34504, 18 = *Ann. Serv.* XXXVIII, 223 and pl. 30).

23. The prayer for healthy children or herds is not infrequent. Cf.  'Grant now that there be born to me a healthy male child' (*JEA* XVI, 19, l. 4 of text);  'Moreover, I beg a second male child for thy daughter' (*JEA* XVI, 19, l. 8 a of text);  'and they see Edjō with smiling face while granting healthy children' (Cairo J.E. 85932, 5 published by Drioton, *Les Fêtes de Bouto* in *Bull. inst. d'Égypte*, XXV, 1-19, and especially p. 6, n. (g) where *snbw* is translated 'pèlerins'). For *hrd n snb* see Peasant B 2, 118-20; Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern* (*Untersuchungen VI*), 228; *Wb.* IV, 90; for Ptolemaic exx. with substitution of *swht* for *hrd* see Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, IV, 302, 10-11; V, 185, 1. See further, Clère, *Notes d'onomastique* in *Revue d'égyptologie*, III (1938), 113; Kees, *Die Laufbahn des Hohenpriesters Onhurmes von Thinis* in *ZÄS* LXXVII, 84-5.

24. Cattle and herbage are linked in the prayer, and healthy cattle and fodder on which to feed them are asked for; cf. Pap. Chester Beatty V, rt. 2, 10. The grasshopper is a common symbol of infinite or very large numbers: Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke*, 98; Selim Hassan, *Le Poème dit de Pentaour*, pl. 24 A.

25. Restore perhaps : for this phrase cf. the Will of Shepenopet III, 15 = Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun*, Textanhang 2. This restoration seems very probable, but in the form we have given above it may be slightly too short to fill the lacuna; there is perhaps room for the addition of  at the end, or for a spelling such as  instead of  (cf. line 3).

3. Other Texts in the Passage

(a) East Side (fig. 1, 18; pl. III)^a

The King stands on the left and offers wine and libations to the lion-headed Pakhet, who stands facing him on the right.

Title: (1) *Offering wi[ne] and libations that there may be made for him a granted-life.*

Above the King: (2) *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmarēr*, (3) *Son of Rēr*, [Seti]-merenp[t]ah, (4) *granted life like Rēr*.


Behind the King: (5) *All protection and life are around him like Rēr every day.*

^a Champollion, *Not. Descr.* II, 333.

Above Pakhet: (6) *Utterance by Pakhet the great*, (7) *Mistress of Srō: I give thee all life, stability, and prosperity*, (8) *all health and all joy like Rēc*.

Before Pakhet: (9) *I give thee all valour and all strength like Rēc*.

(b) *West side* (fig. 1, 19; pl. VI).^a

The King stands on the right and offers  to Pakhet, lion-headed, who stands facing him on the left and offers him a sceptre.

Title: (1) *Offering the clepsydra (šbt) to the Lady of Heaven that he may make a granted-life*.

Cartouches: (2) *The Good God, Menmacrēc*, (3) *Son of Rēc, Seti-merenptah*, (4) *granted life like Rēc*.

Behind the King: (5) *All protection and life are around him like Rēc*.

Below the Disk: (6) *Behdeti, great god*.

Above Pakhet: (7) *Utterance by Pakhet* (8) *the great, Mistress of Srō*.

Before Pakhet: (9a) *I give [thee]* (9b) *life and prosperity to [thy] nose, O Lord of the Two Lands, thou beloved of Rēc*.^b

Above Texts 18 and 19 is a frieze composed of the cartouches of Sethos I. Since they offer nothing in any way unusual they have not been included in our plates (cf. Porter-Moss, *Top. Bibl.* IV, 164).

4. *The Sanctuary* (fig. 1, 20, 21; pl. VI)^c

With the exception of the south wall, the Sanctuary is uninscribed and the walls are only rough-dressed. In the middle of the south wall, about four feet above the floor-level, a small niche has been cut in the rock. Over the niche is the winged disk and on either side a vertical column of text.

(a) *Column on the east of the niche* (fig. 1, 20, pl. VI).

Long live the Good God, Son of Amūn, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Menmacrēc, Son of Rēc, Seti-merenptah], beloved of Pakhet, Lady of Heaven.

(b) *Column on the west of the niche* (fig. 1, 21, pl. VI).

Long live the Good God who made (this) as (his) monument, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmacrec, Son of Rēc, Seti-merenptah, beloved of Pakhet, Lady of Heaven.

^a Ibid.

^b The epithet *mr n R* is applied again to Sethos I, in Lefébure, *Le Tombeau de Seti I^{er}*, 3^e partie, pl. 1, 1; 4^e partie, pl. 1.

^c Champollion, *Not. Descr.* II, 334.

THE WARS OF SETHOS I

By R. O. FAULKNER

To occupy space in a still-attenuated *Journal* with yet another paper on the wars of Imperial Egypt perhaps requires some justification. But it is a curious fact that none of the standard histories present a very clear picture of the campaigns by means of which Sethos I sought to restore the shattered empire of Egypt; the chronological order of his expeditions is left somewhat uncertain and the campaigns themselves, as is perhaps inevitable in general histories, are treated somewhat summarily. This then is my excuse for returning to a rather threadbare topic.

The chaotic conditions which prevailed within the land of Egypt after the collapse of the Atenist revolution naturally prevented for the time being any serious attempt to recover the lost Egyptian empire in Asia. Haremhab, on whose shoulders the task of reconstruction mainly fell, did indeed, as commander-in-chief to the young king Tutankhamūn, lead an expedition into Palestine, for in an inscription which can date only from this reign he speaks of '*guarding the feet of his lord on the battlefield on the day of slaying the Asiatics*';¹ Tutankhamūn himself, on the painted casket from his tomb, is seen charging in his chariot against a Semitic foe,² and Huy, Viceroy of Nubia, presents Asiatic as well as Nubian tribute to the king.³ Nevertheless, we may doubt whether much territory was even temporarily regained, for in the circumstances of the time a large-scale campaign was clearly out of the question; it is probable that this was merely a token expedition, undertaken as a reassertion of Egypt's imperial destiny and as a tonic to the drooping national spirit. After his own accession to the throne Haremhab seems to have been fully occupied with restoring law and order at home, and the only undoubted campaign recorded by him was an expedition to suppress an uprising in Nubia;⁴ a list of conquered peoples set up by him at Karnak,⁵ which includes the name of the Hittite kingdom, must doubtless be regarded as no more than a combination of historic claim and pious aspiration; in his time Egypt was in no state to undertake a major war, and it is tolerably certain that he never came into direct conflict with the Hittites. Probably this list, in so far as it has any basis at all in fact, refers to the Asiatic war under Tutankhamūn, of which he was the real leader.

Haremhab's successor, Ramesses I, was probably an elderly man at his accession, and his reign extended only into his second year, but his son Sethos I, who during a short co-regency with his father had doubtless been making his preparations, on attaining to sole power began a serious attempt to recover the lost empire in Asia. The principal records of the wars of Sethos I consist of a series of scenes sculptured on the

¹ De Rougé, *Inscr. hiér.*, 108.

³ Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, pl. 19.

⁴ Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, 120 f.; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, §§ 41 ff.

² Davies, *Anc. Eg. Paintings*, pl. 78.

⁵ Müller, *Eg. Res.* I, pl. 56.

outside of the north wall of the great hypostyle hall in the temple of Karnak, which, with their explanatory legends in hieroglyphic, show actions in the field, the submission of foreign chieftains, a triumphal return to Egypt, and the presentation of prisoners to Amūn.¹ That these scenes refer to several distinct campaigns, despite the fact that the only date given is year 1, has been pointed out by Breasted, who gives a diagram showing the sequence of the scenes on the wall.² It was apparently the intention of the designer to represent the campaigns in chronological order, beginning with the bottom register to the left of the doorway which divides the wall into two approximately equal parts; I ignore here the conventional scenes of the presentation and slaying of prisoners before Amūn which immediately flank the doorway on either side. In the bottom left-hand register, under the date of year 1, we have the conquest of the Shasu and the overrunning of 'the Canaan'.³ In the middle register next above comes the capture of Yenoam, which we know from the Bethshan stela discussed below to have occurred also in year 1, and the submission of the princes of the Lebanon, events which mark the second strategic phase of the reconquest. If, as Breasted is almost certainly right in believing,⁴ Sethos I adhered strictly in his plans to the lines of strategy followed by Tuthmosis III, the destroyed top left-hand register will doubtless have portrayed the conquest of at any rate some of the Amorite sea-ports in North Syria, of which Zimyra was the most important, so as to cut Ḳadesh off from possible sources of reinforcements and supplies, and to some extent this view is confirmed by the fact that the towns of Zimyra and Ullaza are claimed by Sethos elsewhere.⁵ Passing over the doorway and its attendant scenes of the sacrifice of prisoners, all that is left of the top right-hand register records the capture of Ḳadesh on Orontes,⁶ the fourth strategic phase and a necessary preliminary to any advance into the North Syrian plain. The middle right-hand register depicts a Libyan war,⁷ and the bottom and last a victory over the Hittites. It will thus be seen that if the surviving registers be taken in the order suggested, upwards on the left and downwards on the right, all the episodes, with the exception of the intrusive Libyan war, fall into their proper places in a plan of campaign aiming ultimately at the conquest of Northern Syria.

In year 1, therefore, King Sethos marched out from the frontier fortress of Tjel on his preliminary campaign against the Shasu of Southern Palestine, and took the desert road along the northern coast of the peninsula of Sinai, like so many commanders before and since his time; it should be noted, however, that the Egyptians had found it necessary now to ensure control of the water-supply *en route* by fortifying all the wells along its course, showing that since the collapse of Egyptian authority in Asia not even the main route along the coast of Sinai was free from attack.⁸ Many of the forts are named after Sethos himself, so presumably it was he who erected them as part of his preparations for the war. Having defeated the Shasu⁹ and captured Rafa (?)¹⁰ and 'the town of

¹ Cf. Breasted, *op. cit.* III, §§ 80 ff.; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pls. 34 ff.

² Breasted, *op. cit.* III, p. 39.

³ The left-hand registers overlap the eastern corner of the north wall at *d* in Baedeker's plan.

⁴ *Op. cit.* III, p. 40.

⁵ See below, p. 37.

⁶ See below, p. 37.

⁷ See below, p. 38.

⁸ See Gardiner's study, *The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine* in *JEA* VI, 99 ff. Pls. 11 and 12 give what is virtually a map of this road, showing the fortified stations.

⁹ *JEA* VI, pl. 12; Breasted, *op. cit.* III, § 85 f.; Wreszinski, *op. cit.* II, pl. 42.

¹⁰ *JEA* VI, 104.

the Canaan' (Gaza?),¹ Sethos overran the maritime plain of southern Palestine. But this was not the limit of his advance, for Rowe, excavating at Bethshan (modern Beisan), found a stela dated in 'year 1, 3rd month of Summer, day 10', which describes certain subsequent operations.² The relevant portion of the inscription runs as follows: 'This day one came to tell His Majesty that the vile foe who was in the town of Ḥamath had collected to himself many men and was taking the town of Bethshan, having made alliance with them of Pella, and he would not permit the prince of Rehob to come out. And His Majesty sent the first army of Amūn Mighty-of-Bows³ to the town of Ḥamath, and the first army of Prē Rich-in-Valour to the town of Bethshan, and the first army of Sutekh Victorious⁴-of-Bows to the town of Yenoam. And it came to pass in the space of one day that they fell to the might of His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaṣrē, the Son of Rē Seti-merenptah, given life.'

This inscription makes it quite certain that the Egyptian advance into the plain of Esdraelon followed directly on the overrunning of 'the Canaan' as part of the same campaign. It would also seem likely that the stronghold of Megiddo, commanding the northern exit from the Canaanite coastal plain, did not oppose the passage of the Egyptian army—at least there is no record of any fighting at this point—and it is clear that Bethshan, the fortress founded by Tuthmosis III, supported the Egyptian cause, as did the lesser city of Rehob. This fact suggests either that Egyptian prestige in Palestine did not suffer such an utter eclipse during the chaos of the 'Amārnah period as is usually supposed, or else that the expedition of Tutankhamūn, though ineffective so far as material results were concerned—for Sethos had to fight a battle against the Shasu apparently on the very southern frontier of Palestine—may have proved less abortive in moral effects, by warning at least some Palestinian chieftains that the power of Egypt promised once more to be a factor to be reckoned with. The inscription also shows that the advances to Bethshan, Ḥamath, and Yenoam were planned to take place simultaneously, and it would be interesting to know the base from which Sethos launched his columns—could it have been Megiddo? The town of Ḥamath with which we are here concerned is shown in most maps as situated on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, though Rowe⁵ would place it a little farther to the south, at the mouth of the Yarmūk valley; it is not to be confused with the city of the same name on the Orontes forty-three miles downstream from Ḳadesh. No mention is made in the Bethshan inscription of any direct attempt to relieve Rehob, which may have lain to the south of Bethshan,⁶ itself situated in the valley of Jezreel not far from the Jordan; this purpose was no doubt achieved automatically by the relief of Bethshan and the attack on Ḥamath. Also no mention is made of any advance against Pella (Egyptian *Phr*), south-east of Bethshan on the opposite side of the Jordan, but it was undoubtedly reduced before Sethos returned home, for its name appears in a list of conquered places on a sphinx in his funerary temple at Ḳurnah,⁷ and he set up a stela at Tell esh-Shihāb

¹ *JEA* vi, 104; for the scene see Wreszinski, op. cit. II, pl. 39.

² Rowe, *Beth-shan*, I, pp. 24 ff. and pl. 41.

³ This and the similar epithets below probably refer to the army, not to the god after whom it is named.

⁴ Read *nht*.

⁵ Op. cit. I, 26, n. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 52.

⁷ Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 131 a; Breasted, op. cit. III, § 114; Petrie, *History*, III, 17

in the Hauran, twenty-two miles east of the Sea of Galilee.¹ It must have been at some stage in the course of this first campaign, probably prior to the events just related, that the seaports of Acre and Tyre fell to the Egyptian arms, as we learn from the above-mentioned Ḳurnah sphinx. The capture of Yenoam and of the Lebanese (?) town of Gader,² and the subsequent submission of the chieftains of the Lebanon are the high-water mark of this first campaign, and Sethos now returned to Egypt in triumph,³ with a very creditable record of achievement to show. Incidentally, we learn from the Bethshan stela something of the organization of the force under his command, for in it we meet with the first certain mention of divisions of the Egyptian army named after the principal gods of Egypt.⁴ We learn also that these were the 'first' divisions of Amūn, Prē, and Sutekh, which implies the existence of 'second' divisions, perhaps the reserve establishments at home in Egypt.

As already remarked, the record of Sethos' second campaign is lost, in so far as it was contained in the top left-hand register of the Karnak scenes, but the fact that on his Ḳurnah sphinx he claims the capture of Zimyra and Ullaza renders it probable that the missing scenes portrayed the conquest of at any rate a portion of the Amorite coastlands, of which Zimyra was the most important seaport;⁵ this constitutes the third strategic phase of the plans of Tuthmosis III and therefore *ex hypothesi* of Sethos I. The fourth phase was the reduction of Ḳadesh on Orontes, the gateway to the North Syrian plain, and this is recorded on what remains of the top right-hand register at Karnak;⁶ M. Pézard discovered at Ḳadesh the upper portion of a stela of Sethos I,⁷ thus proving that that Pharaoh had occupied the city and effectively disposing of the contention of Breasted and of Meyer that the Galilean Ḳadesh was meant.⁸ From the inscription on the Karnak picture of the fortress of Ḳadesh, which reads '*The ascent which Pharaoh made to destroy the land of Ḳadesh and the land of Amor*',⁹ it would appear that the capture of Ḳadesh and the conquest of Amor were two phases of a single campaign; the fact that the scene of the capture of Ḳadesh appears at the end of the wall, i.e. as far as possible from the central doorway, indicates that this was the farthest point reached by the Egyptian army on this expedition,¹⁰ the earlier phases of which are now lost. It seems likely, therefore, that Amor here refers not to the North Syrian coast, the conquest of which was probably dealt with to the left of the doorway, but to an inland extension of Amorite territory into the country south of Ḳadesh, possibly even as far south as Damascus, which seems to have fallen under Amorite influence during the revolt in Akhenaten's time.¹¹ It may well be to this campaign that Sethos is referring when in his list of conquests on the Ḳurnah sphinx he includes the land of Takhsy, whose southern limit may not have been very far removed from

¹ Hall, *Anc. Hist. Near East* (6th ed.), 356.

² Wreszinski, *op. cit.* II, pls. 34 ff.

³ *JEA* VI, pl. 11; see Meyer, *Geschichte* (2nd ed.), II, I, 434, n. 1.

⁴ Carter, *Tut-ankh-amen*, II, 31, connects the representations of Amūn, Rē, and Ptah engraved on a trumpet from the king's tomb with the divisions of the army named after those gods.

⁵ On the land of Amor see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 187* ff.

⁶ Wreszinski, *op. cit.* II, pl. 53.

⁷ *Syria*, III, 108 ff.

⁸ Breasted, *op. cit.* III, p. 71, n. a; Meyer, *op. cit.* II, I, 451. On this point see Gardiner, *op. cit.* I, 141*.

⁹ Cf. Gardiner's remarks, *ibid.* I, 140*.

¹⁰ Cf. Breasted, *op. cit.* III, § 80; Gardiner, *JEA* VI, 99.

¹¹ Hall, *Anc. Hist.*, 346.

Damascus.¹ Meyer would place this campaign after the Hittite war, but apart from his mistaken identification of ẖadesh itself, his view is vitiated by the strategic considerations urged above; there is no evidence to suggest that the frontier of the Hittite empire lay to the south of ẖadesh, which in the days of Ramesses II was its main southern bastion of defence. Even late in the 'Amārnah period the valley from ẖadesh southward, then known as Amki and to-day as El-Biḡā', was recognized as falling within the Egyptian sphere of influence, as is shown by the Hittite tablets relating to the curious episode involving the Egyptian queen 'Dakhamun' and the Hittite king Shubbiluliu.²

Sethos' plans for following up his success at ẖadesh with further conquests in the north were, however, temporarily deranged by trouble on his western border, where the Libyans were apparently pushing into the Delta, as they did later in the reign of Menepthah. His fourth campaign, occupying the middle right-hand register at Karnak, was therefore devoted to dealing with this menace, which he dispelled by defeating the Libyans in two pitched battles.³ Breasted is inclined to place the Libyan war in year 2, i.e. before the second Asiatic campaign,⁴ but in so doing he ignores any conceivable chronological sequence on the original monument, and his argument that Sethos may have fought the Libyan war in year 2 because he spent a large part of that year in the Delta is a *non sequitur*; there may have been any number of reasons why he stayed there, including the probability that his principal residence was in the north, and the fact that at Karnak the Libyan war is inserted between the capture of ẖadesh and the victory over the Hittites is surely—lacking positive evidence to the contrary—a sufficient indication that it intervened between those two events.

In his last recorded campaign Sethos met a Hittite army and defeated it, taking prisoners and booty.⁵ We do not know where the battle was fought, but it was doubtless somewhere well to the north of ẖadesh. His victory, however, was not decisive, for it did not materially affect the power of Khatti, and although the Egyptians apparently won temporary control of at any rate part of the North Syrian plain—there seems no good reason to doubt the more precise claims of the lists, which include such familiar names as ẖatna⁶ and Tunip⁷—there can be no doubt that in the end Sethos lost all his more northerly conquests. Naturally the unsuccessful fighting which followed the earlier victories remained unrecorded by the Egyptians, but it is significant that Ramesses II in his first campaign had to take Bērūt by force of arms. At the end of the wars of Sethos I it seems probable that the frontier of the re-established Asiatic empire ran roughly eastward from the mouth of the river Litany, with Tyre, Megiddo, and Bethshan perhaps serving as its main military bases. Realizing that he could make no further headway in Syria, Sethos seems to have concluded a treaty of peace with the Hittite king Muwatallu,⁸ and thereafter he went to war no more. Although he failed

¹ On the land of Takhsy see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 150* ff.

² Cf. the references cited by Helck, *Militärführer*, 74, n. 4.

³ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, §§ 120 ff.

⁴ Ibid. § 120; *History*, 412. I can see nothing whatever to warrant Breasted's assumption (*Anc. Rec.* III, § 82) that the incomplete Karnak stela set up by Sethos just after his return from his first campaign was intended to announce an outbreak of hostilities on the Libyan frontier.

⁵ Ibid. §§ 142 ff.; Wreszinski, *op. cit.* II, pls. 45 ff.

⁶ Karnak list, Leps., *Denkm.* III, 129.

⁸ Delaporte, *Les Hittites*, 129.

⁷ ẖurnah sphinx.

to restore the Asiatic empire of Egypt to what it once had been, he at least succeeded in imposing Egyptian authority over the whole of Palestine and probably a portion of Southern Syria, which in the face of a strong Hittite empire in the north was as much as Egypt could reasonably expect to hold; it would have been well for both empires if Ramesses II had recognized this fact. In his lists of conquests Sethos claims to have overcome Khatti, Nahrin, and Alasia (Cyprus), but such large and vague boasts cannot be taken seriously, except to the extent that he undoubtedly at least once defeated a Hittite army and for a while controlled territory belonging to the Syrian vassals of Khatti; he doubtless felt that he could not pitch his tale of victories lower than that of his illustrious forerunners. Apart from these vague claims, however, there seems no reason to reject the evidence of the lists when they come down to more precise details of towns and districts, for the names of these, so far as they can be identified, fit reasonably well into the scheme of Sethos' campaigns as we know them.

A SYRIAN TRADING VENTURE TO EGYPT

By NORMAN DE G. DAVIES AND R. O. FAULKNER

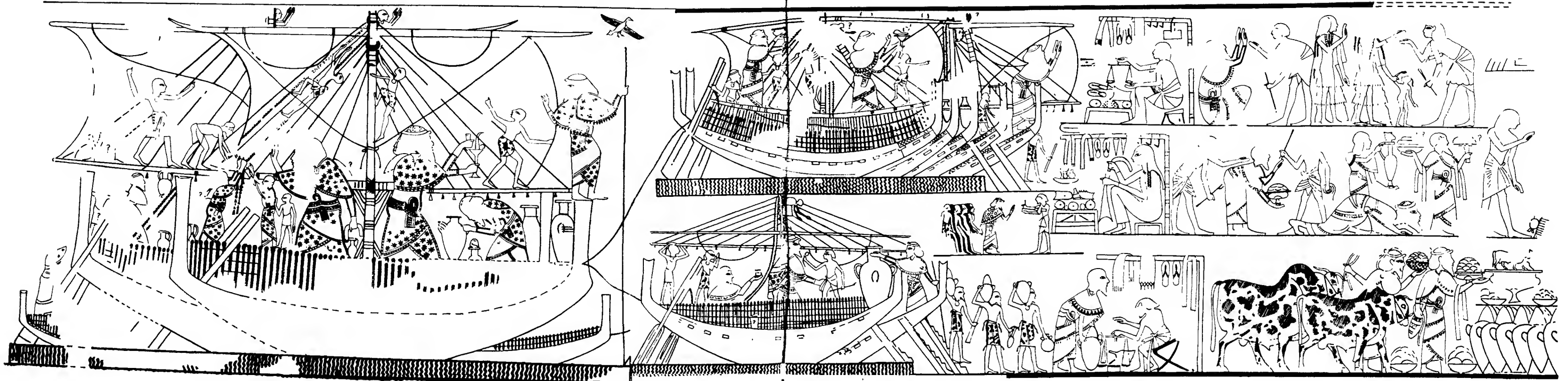
IN 1895 Daressy published in *Rev. arch.* II, 286 ff., with pls. 14 ff., photographs of a painted scene showing ships manned by Syrian crews discharging cargo in some Egyptian town, presumably Thebes. Unfortunately the photographs of Daressy's original publication, having been made at a time before the general use of panchromatic plates and colour filters, obscure many of the less prominent details, and the original painting is now destroyed, but, fortunately for science, in the winter of 1922-3 the late N. de G. Davies copied on the spot the traces of the painting then surviving, and with the aid of Daressy's photographs was able to make a drawing of the entire scene which was included among the unpublished materials still in his possession at his death.¹ Since this is almost the only representation from an Egyptian source of foreign merchant ships—the sole exception is a badly damaged picture of a Syrian ship in Theban tomb No. 17²—it seemed very desirable that Davies's drawing of this important scene should be made accessible to students. With this purpose in view, Mrs. Davies very kindly handed over to the Editor all her husband's notes and materials bearing on the topic; in the following account the present writer assumes responsibility for the discussion of the construction and rig of the ships, but the remainder is based entirely on the notes of the original author.

The scene in question comes from Theban tomb No. 162, owned by one *Ḳenamūn*, Mayor of Thebes and Superintendent of the Granaries of Amūn,³ who probably flourished under Amenophis III. On the left are depicted two ships under sail (pl. VIII) occupying the full height of the scene. To the right of these ships we see two groups of vessels with gangways down arranged in two registers; to the right of these again are three registers showing the disposal of the landed cargoes. As we shall observe below, the larger vessels on the left are connected by ropes with the smaller craft in the middle of the scene, and it remains uncertain how far the difference in size corresponds to reality; this difference, if in fact it existed at all, has undoubtedly been much exaggerated by the artist in order to fit his composition into the space available on the wall. The event here recorded was doubtless one of fairly frequent occurrence during the palmy days of the Empire, when Hither Asia still lay under the *pax Aegyptiaca* and conditions prevailed which favoured international commerce. We probably shall not be far wrong if we see in this representation the beginnings of that maritime trade from Syrian ports which was already extensive and flourishing when

¹ A small-scale photograph of part of the scene, doubtless taken from Daressy's publication, appears in Sève-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (Uppsala, 1946), fig. 11.

² Badly published by Müller, *MVAG* II (1904), pl. 3.

³ Identified by the tomb-cones found on the site.



SYRIAN MERCHANT SHIPS FROM TOMB 162 AT THEBES

at the end of Dyn. XX Wenamūn made his unlucky voyage and which culminated in the far-flung mercantile ventures of the Phoenicians.

As regards the ships which carried this early sea-borne trade, there can be little doubt that, as Sāve-Söderbergh has seen,¹ they are of Egyptian type, both in design and in construction. Typically Egyptian are the canoe-shaped hull, the deck-beams with their butts protruding through the skin of the hull,² and the lacing along the gunwale, which has disappeared or has been omitted in places, but which undoubtedly extended the full length of the ship, see the two vessels farthest removed from the spectator in the upper right-hand group.³ The tall posts at stem and stern are also Egyptian in origin, for they are seen already in Saḥurē's seagoing ships; Ḥatshepsut's vessels have the stem-post, but have a curved ornamental stern. The form of these posts on the Syrian ships, however, differs somewhat from the Egyptian prototype in that they have parallel sides—it is even possible that they may be cylindrical—and the top appears to be hollowed out. In the large vessel on the left nearer the spectator the captain is shown standing on the stem-post, but this is surely artistic licence; even in the painting there is insufficient room for his feet, while when under way, even in the smoothest of water, such a precarious posture would be impossible to maintain. Certain structural features are absent from the painting, but one may suspect that these absences are due to the ignorance or carelessness of the artist; for example, he has entirely omitted to show how the typically Egyptian steering-oars with their down-curved tillers were attached to the hull.⁴ Other details which are unexpectedly missing are the girt-ropes at bow and stern and the hogging-truss running fore and aft,⁵ both of which would be highly desirable, if not absolutely essential, features of seagoing ships built according to Egyptian methods; but perhaps the hogging-truss was concealed by the high railing running the whole length of the ships, which probably served to retain bulky deck-cargo in place.⁶ Owing possibly to their lesser length, but more likely thanks to inaccurate draughtsmanship, the sheer (fore-and-aft curve of the gunwale) of these ships appears much more pronounced than at Dēr el-Baḥri. In any case the drawing of the hulls is demonstrably inaccurate, since it is impossible that such a small proportion of them should be immersed as is suggested by the picture. The artist has unquestionably depicted the ships with far too much freeboard; although these craft were probably smaller than Ḥatshepsut's ships, their appearance when afloat cannot have been so very different from the vessels portrayed at Dēr el-Baḥri, where the above-water proportions of the hulls are far more convincing. Other features seem also to be out of drawing, notably the stem- and stern-posts; in

¹ *Navy*, 56 ff.

² Cf. Ḥatshepsut's ships at Dēr el-Baḥri (Naville, pl. 73) and the modern model *JEA* xxvi, pl. 4.

³ Not present, or at any rate not represented, at Dēr el-Baḥri, but compare Saḥurē's ships (Borchardt, *Saḥu-re*, II, pls. 11, 12 = *JEA* xxvi, pls. 2, 3).

⁴ Cf. Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, pls. 73, 74; *JEA* xxvi, pl. 4.

⁵ For these constructional details cf. *ibid.*, 4 ff. It is conceivable that the short straight lines running vertically across the hull just abaft the stem-post in the upper right-hand vessels may be the artist's version of girt-ropes, but it should be noted that none of the ships show similar lines at the stern.

⁶ For a similar construction on Egyptian ships cf. Sāve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, 57. It also appears in the Syrian ship of Tomb 17.

order to show all he could in a limited space and to convey a striking impression, the artist has obviously distorted the proportions of his hulls by contracting them horizontally and exaggerating them in the vertical sense.

In its main essentials the rig of these Syrian vessels seems likewise to be derived from an Egyptian model. We have the single pole mast stepped amidships and carrying a single square-sail laced to two yards; if the artist of our picture is to be trusted, it would seem that these yards were shorter than those of Ḥatshepsut's ships, for they are depicted as made of a single length of wood instead of two pieces fished together; the sail-area would therefore be less, and since the proportionate lengths of yard and hull appear to be much the same as at Dēr el-Baḥri, it would seem that these Syrian merchant ships were somewhat smaller than the craft which sailed to Pwēnet. At the mast-head is the flanged cap (?) to take the rigging which is so common on Egyptian ships of the period; in the present scene the main halliards of all ships are clearly shown by heavy irregular lines, by which we are doubtless to understand that they were much stouter than the other ropes of the rigging. These halliards were double as at Dēr el-Baḥri; they passed through the extreme top of the mast-cap and were secured to the middle of the *lower* yard, see the ship nearest the spectator in the upper right-hand group; this affords a neat proof of the fact, denied by some scholars,¹ that in foreign ships of the period, the lower yard was hoisted to the upper when furling sail, compare the ships of the lower right-hand group. This forms a real departure from contemporary Egyptian practice, for in Ḥatshepsut's ships the upper yard was lowered.² We now see the reason of the activity on board the large ship on the left; two seamen are going aloft to furl the sail, one climbing up the mast and the other up the halliards, while two others, from their dress apparently petty officers rather than common seamen, are hauling at the halliards to hoist the lower yard up the mast. Two things should here be noted: (1) that the picture has the characteristic Egyptian trait of depicting two successive operations in one and the same scene, for the sailor ascending the halliards must have finished his climb before the other men cast them off from their cleats and began to haul; and (2) the artist has made some confusion in the run of these halliards, for one rope, that passing down to the two hauling men, has mysteriously grown two ends, while the other slopes outward to the edge of the sail near a man standing on the yard and there stops. In this second instance it looks as if the artist had confused this rope with the halliards of the ship behind, for if its line be produced to deck level it passes beyond the stern of the first ship and nearly coincides with that of the halliards of the second ship. Actually there can be no doubt that the two men on deck are to be regarded as each hauling at his own halliard, and that *both* ropes should have been shown as passing into their respective hands. The artist has also failed to indicate the continuation of the halliards where they run down the mast to the middle of the lower yard, although, as already remarked, he has shown this detail in the upper right-hand group. In the nearer of the two ships without sails in the lower register the halliards

¹ Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, 58, quoting Fevrier, *Les Origines de la marine phénicienne*, 119.

² Naville, *op. cit.*, pl. 72. The Egyptians seem subsequently to have adopted the Syrian method, for in the naval battle at Medinet Habu (ed. Chicago, 1, pls. 39, 40) the ships of both sides have the furled sail at the mast-head.

are hanging slack from the mast-head; here, although the artist has depicted but one yard to each ship—and has again become somewhat muddled with the lines of the rigging—in actual fact the lower yard was undoubtedly lashed to the upper, thus relieving the main halliards of all strain. The fact of the yards being lashed together would sufficiently account for their being represented in this painting as a single spar. No sign of the furled sail is shown, and it is not impossible that it may have been unbent from the yards and stowed away during the stay in port.

Another respect in which the rig of these ships differs from that of contemporary Egyptian seagoing craft is the absence of mast-stays, that is, if the picture can be trusted in this respect; the Syrian ship in Tomb 17 appears to show something of the kind, but its battered condition and the unsatisfactory nature of the publication combine to make its testimony somewhat doubtful. In both Egyptian and Syrian ships the main halliards were secured right aft when sail was hoisted so that they could function as backstays, which is clearly why they were made of much stouter rope than the rest of the rigging, but Egyptian seagoing craft, which carried a remarkably large sail area, reinforced them by supporting the mast fore and aft with further stays which did not form part of the running rigging. Despite the negative evidence of the present scene, it seems unlikely that these foreign craft put to sea without standing rigging of some kind, for even when contrary winds did not permit sail to be employed, the motion of a ship at sea would necessitate support for the mast; it would still be possible to use the halliards as backstays, but a forestay would seem also to be indispensable. Neither in Egyptian nor in Syrian ships is there evidence of the use of shrouds to support the mast against lateral stresses such as might be caused by heavy rolling.

In the two large ships on the left we see at the mast-heads the heads and shoulders of two men apparently poised in mid-air. The explanation of this is seen in the lower right-hand pair, where in the nearer ship a man is leaning out of a crow's-nest fixed just below the mast-head; in the ship in Tomb 17 this crow's-nest is placed on the very top of the mast,¹ just as are the fighting-tops in the warcraft at Medinet Habu.² Since the crow's-nest does not appear in Hatshepsut's ships, this feature may perhaps be of Syrian origin. With the enormous jars in the bows of the ships, which were probably lashed to the stem-post, we may compare the object shaped like a $\bar{\epsilon}$ -vase in the bows of Saḥurē's O.K. galleys; they may possibly have contained the ship's water-supply for the voyage, but if this be a true conjecture, then there must either have been frequent calls along the coast to obtain fresh water, or the passengers and crew must have been on fairly short rations. Admittedly a peculiarly vulnerable spot seems to have been chosen to store such a vital commodity as water, on deck in the bows of the ship, in just the right spot for a heavy sea to carry it away; on the other hand, the jar does not seem to have been part of the cargo, but to have belonged to the ship's fittings, and it is difficult to conceive what other purpose it could have served.

In the right-hand portion of the scene we see seven ships drawn up at the shore with stepped gangways down. Here again the artist seems to have sacrificed accuracy to

¹ Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, fig. 10.

² *Ed. Chicago, loc. cit.*

impressionism, for in the lower register we have three gangways for only two ships, while above there are only two gangways for five ships. Since, however, in the latter case two at least of the vessels are still under sail, we may perhaps justly assume that not all the ships of this group have yet actually moored to the shore. No mooring-stakes are shown, but some method of making fast the ships must have been employed even if their bows actually took the mud. To the left of the picture the two larger vessels are in the act, as we have seen, of taking in sail; since they are attached by ropes to vessels already at the shore, it would seem that either by reason of their size or because the quay was already full they were unable to moor direct to the shore, but had to be secured outside the other ships. In tow of one of the smaller vessels and of one of the larger we see lesser boats without mast or sail; their size and the fact that they too have the deck-railing suggests that they were not ships' dinghies, but rather lighters loaded with additional cargo which made the voyage to Egypt in tow of the sailing-craft.

The standing of the persons on board the ships is indicated in true Egyptian convention by their respective statures; this is best seen in the large vessel on the left. Most prominent of all on board, and therefore the most important, are two men who doubtless are the joint owners of the ship and cargo; while one of them, facing the shore, appears to be making a propitiatory offering to the gods of the port, his partner is looking aft and calling out to someone. Next in stature comes the captain, who, poised in an impossible posture on the stem-post and holding a sounding-pole of equally impossible length—for the captain's real station see the farther ship at lower right—looks back to shout an order to the men taking in sail. On deck in the bows the mate (?) bends down to lift from the deck a large jar forming part of the cargo. Two petty officers, no taller than the members of the crew, but clad in gaudy robes like their superiors, haul at the halliards, one of them supported by the ship's boy, who presses with a hand against his back. The ordinary seamen, clad only in loin-cloths mostly of rather loud pattern and wearing on a string round the neck a circular medallion which irresistibly reminds one of the modern soldier's identity disk, are about their duties in the rigging. These sailors are shorn of head and chin apart from the three in the lower right-hand group who are carrying trade goods ashore; these men are marked off from their fellows by being bearded and by having tassels hanging from the waist and hem of their loin-cloths.¹ It is not clear whether these patterned loin-cloths are of woven material or whether they are merely skins of animals.

The men above the rank of deck-hand are seen in a costume which in essentials is identical on all wearers. It apparently consists of a single strip of woollen (?) cloth which is wound round the person from the ankles upward, the middle of the strip being placed behind at the knee with the lower hem half-way up the calf; the two ends are brought round and upwards, crossed over and given another turn, the underpiece being brought round the knee and dropped to overlap the first fold somewhat and then carried behind, wrapped round the body and over a shoulder and arm, the end being thrown over the other shoulder to form a cape in front. The end which is crossed on top of the other at the first winding is given a complete turn round the body at the seat

¹ For these tassels see also the porters in Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, pl. 19.

and then carried over the second shoulder and the hem fastened over the other end at the neck. Beneath this garment is worn a white shirt with sleeves which reach to the wrists. Round the waist passes a belt which is fastened in front with an ornamental bow, but it is not clear whether this belt is a narrow one passed twice round the body or a broad one with two strips of decoration. This elaborate upper garment seems to have been a new fashion which came in after the reign of Tuthmosis III,¹ and it may have been due to Hittite influence. The costume of the women at the top right of the scene shows a triple horizontal flounce and somewhat resembles the elaborate Cretan toilette. If not made up by sewing, the dress would have to consist of two skirts worn one over the other, the upper skirt half the length of the under, and of a simple sleeved tunic reaching to mid-thigh. The artist has shown these garments as semi-transparent, which suggests that they were made of a light flimsy material, in marked contrast to the heavy clothes, more suited to a cold northern climate, which were preferred by the men.

The right-hand third of the painting is occupied by a trading scene arranged in three registers. The bulk of the merchandise discharged from the ships is being taken before *Ḳenamūn*,² who was doubtless acting as buying agent for the granaries of Amūn under his control, and possibly also for other high authorities. The goods for sale consist largely of great jars of wine or oil, but a notable item of cargo consists of two humped bulls of a foreign breed.³ Other articles offered consist of bowls containing costly materials of various kinds and specimens of the jeweller's craft in the form of vases of precious metal; at bottom right we see a large wide-mouthed vase or bowl of familiar Syrian type, probably of gold and decorated with the figure of a bull standing within it, while in the middle register a trader is seen bearing a tall narrow vase of silver (?) with a bull's-head stopper.⁴ No doubt some of the more precious and portable articles—including possibly the two women and the boy in the top register—are destined to pass into the possession of *Ḳenamūn* himself by way of return for permission to trade (in his capacity of Mayor of Thebes) and as commission on the deal (in his capacity of buying agent for Amūn).

Although the main cargo of incoming merchant ships was apparently sold through the agency of men in high authority like *Ḳenamūn*, there seems to have been no regulation against small-scale private trading. The water-side where the foreign ships moored was therefore lined with small booths in which Egyptian shopkeepers, women as well as men, plied a lively trade.⁵ In the present picture we see three such booths. The goods offered for sale include textiles, sandals, foodstuffs, and other items not so readily identifiable. At the lowermost shop a Syrian merchant is trying to sell a large jar of wine or oil, while higher up an ordinary sailor, his head hidden by the bow of a ship,

¹ Cf. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pls. 41, 247, 290. For a variant of this costume which leaves the torso bare cf. Davies, *El Amarna*, III, pl. 15; Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, I, 247.

² His figure is not shown in Davies's drawing and presumably was destroyed.

³ Cf. also Theban tombs Nos. 17 (*Nebamūn*) and 343 (*Paḥēkmen*).

⁴ Cf. Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. 5, top right.




⁵ Egyptian marketing scenes are not common, but for the O.K. see Leps., *Denkm.* II, pl. 96; and for Dyn. XIX, Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. 28.


is apparently bringing for trade what may be a rod of costly wood. The small hand-scales being used by the two male shopkeepers suggest the possible use of gold-dust as a medium of exchange, though they might equally well be used for weighing out small quantities of costly drugs or the like. In front of the woman's shop we see in progress an incident of harbour administration; some sailors have been taken by a superior before a port official, who is recording their names or number. Altogether the scene affords a vivid glimpse of a side of ancient life which is usually hidden from us, and our thanks are due equally to Kēnamūn who ordered the picture, to the artist who designed it, and to the modern investigators who, by their labours, have preserved to us its simulacrum even after the original has suffered destruction.

SOME REMARKS ON THE TERMS AND





By ERIK IVERSEN


I


ALTHOUGH an examination of the word  is the main object of the present article, it will be necessary to resume briefly the discussion of the word , because the meaning 'brain', which has hitherto with good reasons been attached to this word, is now being contested,¹ since Breasted in his edition of the surgical Papyrus Smith has claimed this meaning for the word .

 occurs in the medical texts in the following connexions:

1.  P. Hearst, 13, 10.
2.  P. Hearst, 13, 6.
3.  P. Ebers, 32, 3.
4.  P. Ebers, 63, 20.

It will be seen that in all the above examples the word is undoubtedly a part of certain animals, being found with birds () as well as with fishes () as also with various other animals ( and .

The word is further found in P. Ebers (30, 1-2) in a passage where it is provided with a gloss, important for the understanding of the word, which runs  'mm of the ncr-fish, it is found within its head'.

Starting from this passage Wreszinski translates in his edition of P. Hearst the word with 'brain',³ instead of 'roe (?)', eggs (?)' as Sethe had proposed in Reisner's edition, apparently without noticing the gloss in Ebers. In his excellent edition of the Coptic Medical Papyrus, Chassinat⁴ translates it as 'brain', too, and supports it, demonstrating with great probability that $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\phi\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\gamma\omicron\rho$ $\alpha\alpha\omicron\gamma$ in the Coptic text corresponds to  in P. Ebers.

It will be seen that good and solid reasons supported the translation and, as has already been said, it was, as a matter of fact, never contested until Breasted claimed for the word *is* in P. Smith 'the earliest reference to the brain anywhere in human records'.⁵

The trouble was, however, that we now apparently seemed to have two words with the same meaning, and it was to overcome this difficulty that Dawson submitted the

¹ For the principal discussion of the word, see Dawson's article, *Studies in Egyptian Medical Texts*, in *JEA* XVIII, 150.

² University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vol. III. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, I, 166.

³ Wreszinski, *Der Londoner Medizinische Papyrus und der Papyrus Hearst*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 118.

⁴ Chassinat, *Le Papyrus médical copte*, Mem. inst. fr. XXXII (1921), 214-15.

⁵ Breasted, op. cit., 166; see also p. 12.

word *mm* to a closer examination in an article in this *Journal*,¹ where he comes to the conclusion that its original meaning would be something like a 'small pebble, shell, or granule'.

The word should, then, where it is said to originate from birds, designate the small fragments of stone, pebbles, or shells which are found in their gizzards, and where it comes from fishes, the so-called 'otolith', a calcareous shell-like concretion in the inner ear.

To get over the difficulty with *pnnt* and *pggt*, which could, as seen from their determinatives, be neither fowl nor fish, Dawson presumed that these two words should designate different forms of slugs or snails, and that *mm* should mean their shells, as found as rudimentary calcareous granules, partly concealed under the mantle of the animals. This explanation, ingenious as it may seem, must nevertheless be abandoned for two reasons. Firstly, because the meaning of *pggt* is not 'slug' or 'snail' but, as Professor Gunn tells me, without any doubt 'toad' or 'frog'.² And secondly, because it seems impossible to assent to Dawson's main assumption that the word 'is never used in connexion with the human body',³ when in a passage in Lacau's *Textes religieux* (XLVII, 5-12),⁴ the deceased actually says, 'I claim my *mm* from him who bites it'.

It seems necessary, therefore, once more to reconsider the actual meaning of the word and to sum up quite briefly what we know about it; it will be seen that:

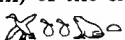
1. It is a part which is common to fishes, birds, reptiles, other animals, and human beings.
2. It is found within the head.
3. There is good reason to believe that it is in later times rendered *ανκεφαλος*, corresponding to Greek *εγκέφαλος*.

The meaning 'brain' seems, therefore, not only highly probable but almost certain, and as far as I can see no real objection can be raised against it. We shall therefore proceed to the second part of this article and see if a closer examination of the word *ms* will reveal anything as to its original meaning and elucidate its connexion with *mm*.

II.

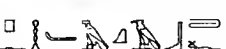
This word has also been subject to much discussion, and several different translations of it have been proposed.

¹ XVIII, 150 ff.

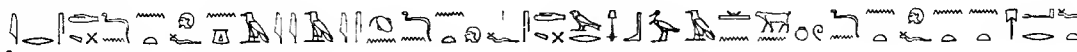
² He informs me that on the original (in the Cairo Museum) of the slab shown in Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 17, right, the woman's name at the back of the lowest register is  the last sign but one being clearly either a toad or frog.

³ *JE* XVIII, 150.

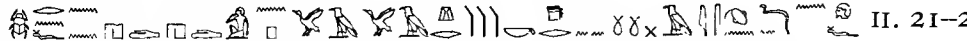
⁴ *Rec. trav.* XXX, 195. The text is rather obscure and obviously in a very bad condition. The general meaning seems quite clear, however. The four variants run:

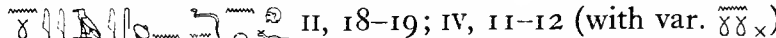

- A.  
- B.  
- C.   ¹⁴
- D.  ^{sic}  [?]  [?]  ¹⁴

The one which has prevailed and has acquired general acknowledgement is 'brain', as given by Breasted in his edition of the Smith surgical papyrus,¹ and this is also the translation accepted by the Berlin Dictionary.² This translation is, so to speak, solely based on the occurrences in P. Smith, where it is found seven times, in the following connexions:

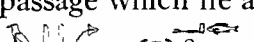
1.  II, 23-4.

2.  IV, 1.


3.  II. 21-2.







4.  II, 18-19; IV, 11-12 (with var. ).

It will be seen from the above examples that the general meaning of the word in this text is quite clear, and that there can be no possible doubt that Breasted was right in stating that what the author of the book intended to express by the word *ꜥꜥ* was most certainly the word 'brain'.

The word occurs, however, in several other places, and it would seem as if the translation 'brain' in these other cases met with certain difficulties, because close examination seems to indicate that it only covers a specific use of a word, which has in reality a much wider general meaning. Breasted has apparently had this feeling, too, because in quoting the only other passage which he acknowledges as an occurrence of the word outside P. Smith, namely  P. Ebers, 65, 13-14, he refers to an old translation, inferred from this sole occurrence, 'intestines or viscera',³ which he rejects, suggesting that originally the word 'may designate organic substances of a viscous or semi-fluid consistency like marrow'.³ He also points out that in five out of seven cases the word is followed by the phrase, 'of his head', as if to render the word *ꜥꜥ* more specific.

His final conclusion is, however, that there can be no doubt as to the actual meaning, 'brain'.⁴

The passage from P. Ebers quoted by Breasted is, however, not the only place where the word occurs outside P. Smith. Thus we find in the 154th spell of the Book of the Dead the following:  P.Nu, Sp. 157, 1.78.⁵ 'I have not decayed (?) and my *ꜥꜥ.w* have not been extinguished (?)'. Here the translation 'brain' seems not quite convincing, as one would expect a word of somewhat broader meaning to form the parallel to the general phrase, 'I shall not decay'.

The Berlin Dictionary⁶ gives, however, for this use of the word, graphic variants  and , but these spellings are also found as graphic variants of the word , occurring in medical texts, and designating some part of various animals, which indicates—what also seems most natural and simple *a priori*—that the spellings , , and  do not represent as many different words, with as many different meanings, but are only graphic variants of one word, a fact which the editors of the

¹ Breasted, op. cit. 166.

² 1, 2: 'Gehirn (des Menschen und der Tiere).'

³ Breasted, op. cit. 166.

⁵ Budge, *The Book of the Dead: Papyri of Hunefer, Ankhai, etc.*, p. 37.

⁴ Op. cit. 167.

⁶ 1, 20.

Berlin Dictionary seem to have had in mind, too, as in all cases they give a reference to the word *vis* 'Gehirn'.

When this has been admitted we must endeavour to reconcile the new occurrences with the old ones and see if it is possible to find a general meaning of the word which will cover all examples.

The examples from the medical texts are, however, not very conclusive in themselves, and in reality nothing whatsoever can be got from them, either for or against any particular translation. The examples are as follows:

- | | |
|----|----------------------------|
| 1. | P. Hearst, 8, 14. |
| 2. | P. Berlin 3038, XIX, 3. |
| 3. | P. Berlin 3038, II, 5. |
| 4. | P. Ebers, 33, 6-7; 80, 21. |
| 5. | P. Ebers, 95, 18. |
| 6. | P. Ebers, 33, 5. |

Only the last example might seem to speak against the translation 'brain', as the consistency of this organ could hardly be said to be influenced by the animal's being fat or not.

The word occurs also outside the medical literature, for example, we find in the Tombos-Stela the following passage: *Urk.* IV, 84.

The Dictionary in its explanation of this sentence makes what seems to be a pure guess with 'Leichengestank o. ä.?', for which there seems no evidence whatsoever.

In P. Berlin 3024 ('Lebensmüde'), 87, we find the word again in the following passage:

The Dictionary translates in this case—apparently inferring from the determinative—'Vogelmist o. ä.'

It will be admitted that these examples taken as a whole seem to indicate strongly a wider and more general meaning of the word than the specific translation 'brain'. And as a matter of fact the Egyptologist who from the sole occurrence in P. Ebers, 65, 13, rendered 'viscera'² seems to me to have made a very good guess.

As a matter of fact this translation seems to solve all difficulties in all the different passages, and gives an easily understandable meaning in all cases.

1. It explains the constant addition 'of his head' in P. Smith,³ and makes it quite obvious, when it is understood that the author wishes to make it clear that he is speaking about the '*viscera*' of the head, as opposed to, for example, the *viscera* of the belly.
2. It gives an excellent and easily understandable meaning in the passage from the


¹ Erman in his commentary corrects into *wpd.w* and translates, 'mehr als die Geruch von Vögeln?' op. cit. XXI, 51.


² Breasted, op. cit. 166, does not say where this translation occurs and I have been unable to find it. Budge in his *Hieroglyphic Vocabulary to the Book of the Dead* (2nd ed., 1911, p. 58) translates the word 'intestines', and Stern has 'fel, bilis' in the glossary of P. Ebers.

³ It is significant that the only two instances where the word is found without this addition are cases where the simple translation 'viscera' seems most clear from the context: II, 27; IV, 1.

Book of the Dead and gives the desired balance in the parallelism: 'I have not decayed (?) and my *viscera* have not been extinguished (?)'.

3. In the Tombos-Stela we get an excellent translation, too: 'The Nubian Troglodytes . . . are slain all over their countries, and their *viscera* overflow their valleys.'¹
4. Even the obscure passage from the *Lebensmüde* becomes perfectly clear when translated: 'My name . . . more than birds' *viscera*² on summer days.'
5. It even makes the example from P. Ebers (33, 5) clear, since the animal's being fat or not undoubtedly affects the condition of the viscera.

Lastly, it may be said that the therapeutic use of *is* supports the translation 'viscera', which is a very common ingredient in the recipes of early medicine,³ and it might even be possible to think of combining the word with the well-known stem , this verb being used about water which flows, so as to establish a possibility for a connexion with the 'viscous or semi-fluid' significance of our substantive. Even the fact that the word occurs with as well as without the plural strokes can be illustrated by Latin 'viscus, viscera'.

¹ The use of the verb *b'h* 'overflow' and of the det.  in *ss* indicate that the narrator is envisaging the fluid products of abdominal wounds.

² In *Orientalia*, VII, 67 f. Blackman rendered  as 'bald-headed vultures', but he is now inclined to favour the meaning 'viscera of birds'.

³ See Breasted, op. cit. 166.

GRAFFITI AT THE WĀDI EL-'ALLĀQI

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

IN 1941 Mr. Guy Brunton of the Cairo Museum handed over to the present writer, on behalf of Mr. G. W. Murray, Director of the Topographical Survey, a series of photographs of graffiti accompanied by a few notes on the region and on the sites where the graffiti occur, with a view to their examination and publication. The study of the material so kindly entrusted to me and the preparation of an article were already well

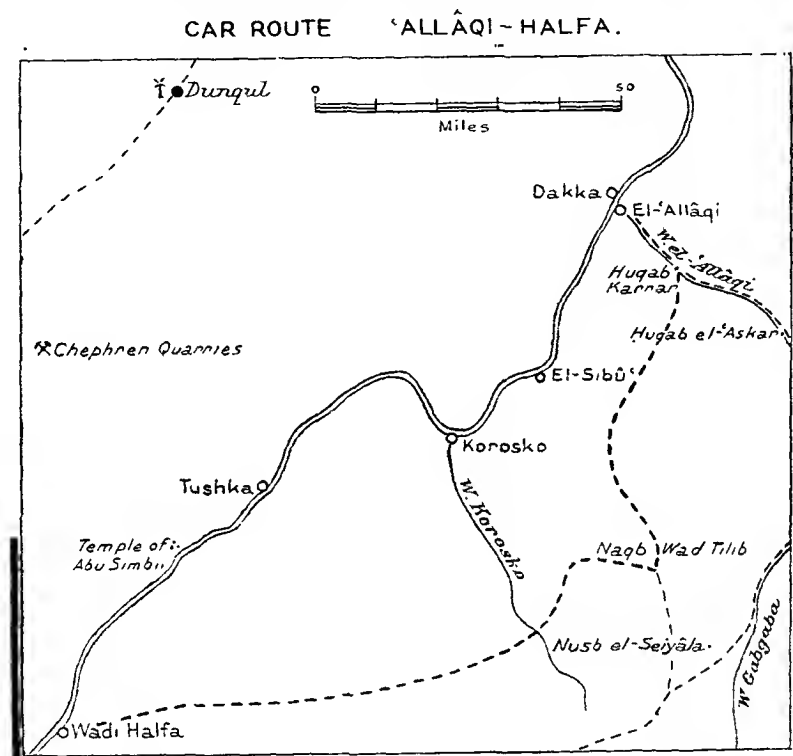
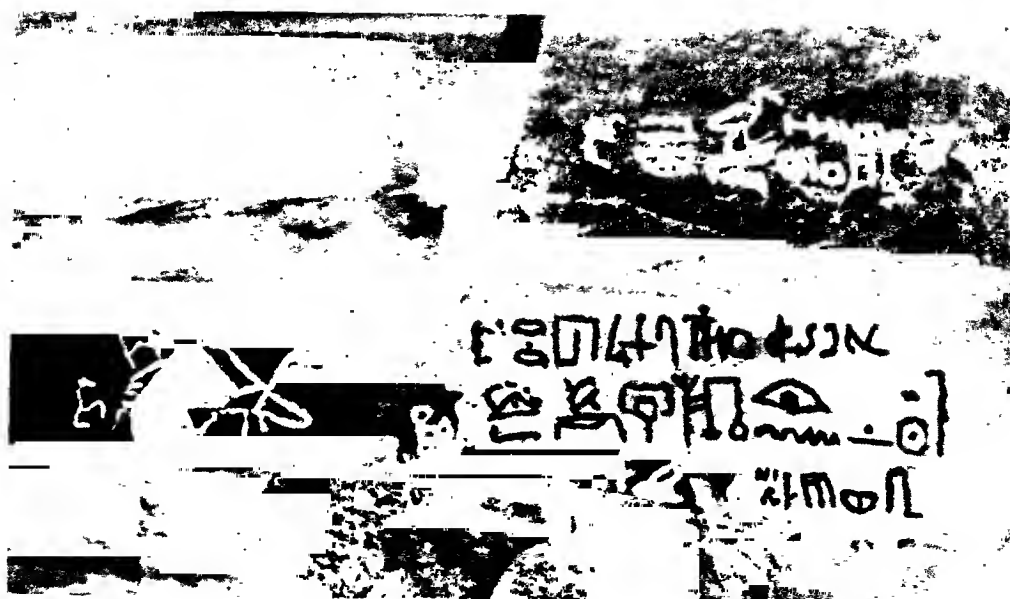
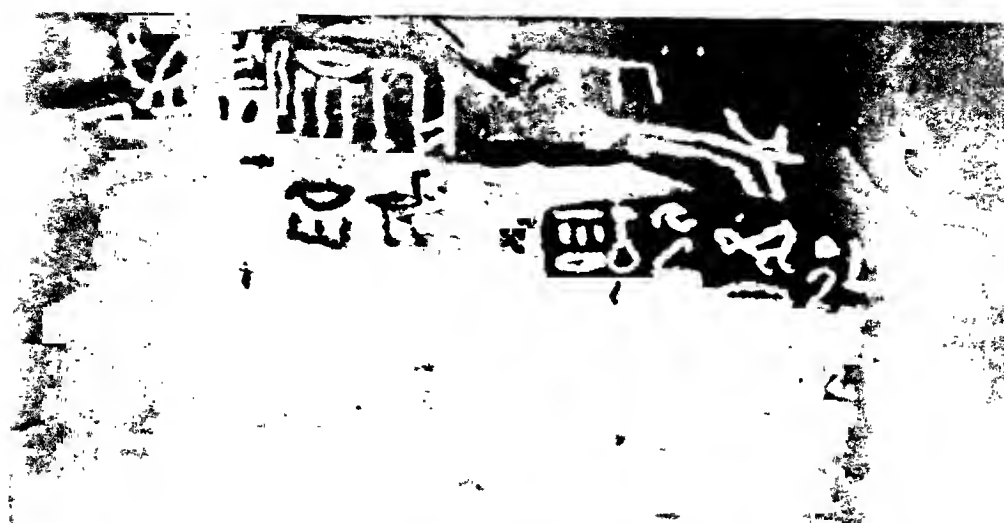


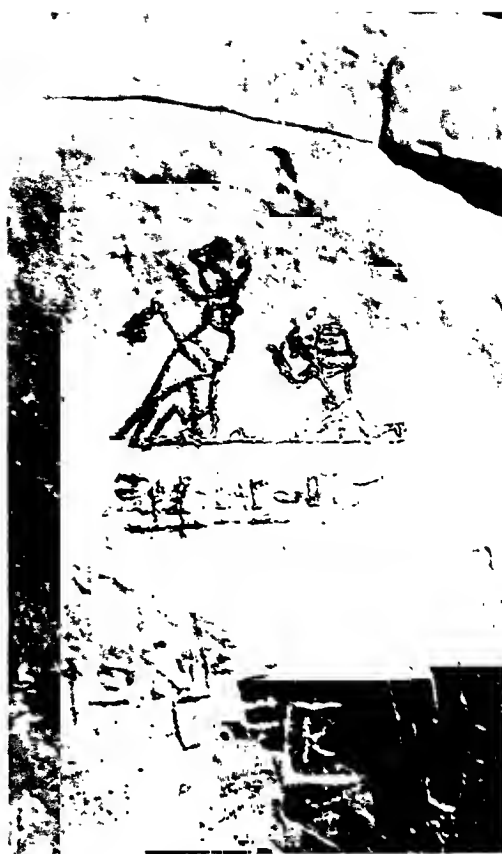
FIG. 1. Sketch map of Mr. G. W. Murray's journey.

advanced when in 1943 my departure from Egypt compelled me to leave this and other scientific material behind in Cairo. It was not until April 1947 that the photographs and notes reached me again in London, rendering it possible at last to take definite steps towards their publication in the present article. In the meantime Miss Rosalind Moss had obtained another series of the same photographs, but on hearing that I had already been engaged in the writing of an article on this subject she very kindly surrendered her claims in my favour.

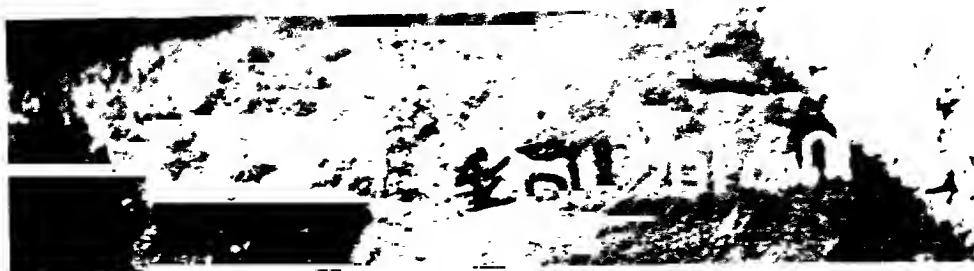
The photographs were taken in December 1940 by Mrs. Murray during her and her husband's trip through the Wādi el-'Allāqi, which leaves the Nile Valley near the Nubian town El-'Allāqi situated almost opposite Dakka; I owe Mr. Murray's sketch-map of their journey (fig. 1) to the kindness of Miss Moss. The wādi runs roughly in a



1. GRAFFITI 1-7
2. GRAFFITI 18-20
3. GRAFFITI 25-29



1. GRAFFITO 8
2. GRAFFITI 11 and 12
3. GRAFFITO 13





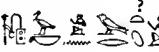



1. THE ROCK HUQAB EL-ASKAR
2. GRAFFITI 38 *a-c*
3. GRAFFITO 22
4. GRAFFITO 30



south-easterly direction and¹ affords, as it did in ancient times, an easy passage from the Nile to the vast gold-mining area lying between the Nile and the Red Sea. The inscriptions come from the lower reaches of the wādī, mostly from the two sites of Huḳab Karrār and Huḳab el-'Askar respectively one and two days' march (25 and 54 kilometres) from the Nile. A natural arch and sandstone cliffs at Huḳab Karrār afford the first shelter from the north wind that the traveller to the mines meets with after plodding over the sand-waste east of the Nile, while Huḳab el-'Askar is a rocky 'island' (2 F, pl. XI, 1) in the middle of the Wādī el-'Allāḳī where a filled-in excavation and numerous potsherds seem to give evidence of an ancient attempt to sink a well. This rock marks the geological boundary between the Nubian sandstone and the metamorphic area and the site at the base of the rock was no doubt selected as the furthest point from the Nile where a deep shaft could be sunk without encountering very hard rock.²

A certain number of the photographs are rather blurred and the inscriptions on them difficult to read; only a selection of the best could therefore be published on pls. IX ff. All graffiti, however, have been transcribed, described, or at least mentioned below. The letters and numbers of all photographs on which a graffito is visible have been added.³ The arrows ← or → indicate the direction in which figures of men or animals look, and the inscriptions run from right to left unless otherwise stated. None of the photographs give any indication of scale.

A. South side of Wādī el-'Allāḳī, about 29 km. up

1.  'Chief of ' (7 D).
 2. Below no. 1:  'The scribe Anupemḥab' (7 D).
 3. Below no. 2 and slightly to the right in the first row a rough drawing of a horned animal →, in the second row the number IIIIN and to the right of it a boat, in the third row a man → holding a horned animal by the tail (?) (7 D).
 4. To the left from the second row of no. 3:  'The scribe Ḥarnakhte' (7 D).
 5. To the left of the third row of no. 3:  'The scribe Pesiūr' (7 D).
- At some distance to the right of nos. 1-5:
6. An animal → and to the left of it  'The scribe Bekenwēre, son of Mose' (7 D).
 7. Under the animal of no. 6:  'The scribe Khaṯy' (7 D).



B. At Huḳab Karrār, 25 km. up Wādī el-'Allāḳī

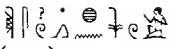
8. A group of three giraffes →, a man riding (?) on the middle one. A mark  in front of the first giraffe,  above the third, an obscure mark above the second. Some indistinguishable drawings under this group (not chalked out) (5 A).


¹ From here to the end of the paragraph Mr. Murray's notes have been followed almost word for word.


² On the road from Tushka to the Chephren quarries (on which see Engelbach, *Ann. Serv.* XXXVIII, 369-90) the last well was similarly sunk at the junction of the sandstone with the metamorphic rocks.

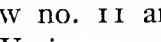
³ The whole series of photographs has been deposited in the Griffith Institute, where they will be available for any further consultation.


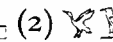
⁴ The existence of  only is doubtful;  had not been chalked out before the photograph was taken but none the less is clearly shown.


9.  'The retainer Khons'. An Arabic graffito in front (i.e. to the right) of it (5 B).

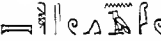
10. Below no. 9 (an illegible graffito is squeezed in between nos. 9 and 10):  'Made by the scribe Amenemḥab, son of Setoy'. Some large rough marks below this group of graffiti (5 B).

11. A falcon → with double crown and a sceptre on its back and a man ← kneeling in front of it, with arms uplifted in adoration. Below the scene:  'Made by the scribe Nebentēre, son of Ḥori, for his lord' (4 A, 5 D).

12. Below no. 11 and a little to the left:  'The retainer Nebenmaṯe' (4 A, 5 D). Various marks (including a quadruped →) all around this group of nos. 11 and 12.


13. Falcon ← with double crown and a sceptre on its back. In front of it in three lines: (1)  (2)  (3) illegible, 'The chief of the stable Prēc...'. Numerous marks, boats and animals below and to the right (4 B, 5 E).

14. In front of no. 13 and separated from it by a crack in the rock, a falcon → with the double crown. Below it:  'The scribe Pwēr'. Below no. 14 numerous marks, animals and a human figure → (4 B).


15.  'The chief retainer Nashwēye, son of Prudj'. Some marks above and below (5 F).

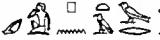

C. North side of Wādi el-'Allāḳi, 29 km. up



16. A man ← shooting from a bow at a long-horned animal, possibly a gazelle → (5 C).

17. To the right of, and a little higher than, no. 16:  'The soldier Enēy' (5 C).

D. North side of Wādi el-'Allāḳi, about 32 km. up

18. Mark , below it a horned animal → (7 E).

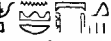
19. Below no. 18, in two lines: (1)  (2)  'The servant Pentwēre, son of Telḥori' (7 E).

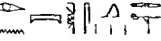
20. To the left of nos. 18 and 19, in two lines: (1)  (2)  'The scribe Nebentēre, son of Ḥori, of Bak' (7 E).

E. North side of Wādi el-'Allāḳi, about 52 km. up


21.  'The scribe Nebentēre, son of Ḥori' (9 B, 9 F).



F. At Huḳab el-'Askar, about 54 km. up Wādi el-'Allāḳi

22. Falcon → with double crown, below it between two horizontal lines:  'The King's Commissioner to all foreign countries, the chief of retainers Siamūn' (2 B, 2 E, 3 F).

23. To the left of no. 22:  'Made by the chief of retainers Minnakhte' (3 F, 2 C).

24. Anthropomorphic god Horus standing →, with falcon-head and double crown, 1-sceptre in the left hand, 2 in the right (2 D).


25.  'The scribe of the quarter Dhutemḥab' (3 A).

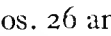
¹ The hieratic sign resembles  rather than .

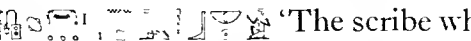
² Printed grouping differs from original.


26. At a small distance under no. 25:  'the servant Ra'messeher' (3 A).

27. Immediately under no. 26:  'Year 40. Made by the scribe of the treasury who counts the gold, Kha(em)wēse' (3 A).

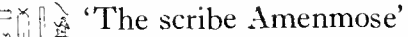
28. Close under no. 27:  'The scribe Nebentēre, son of Iḥori' (3 A).

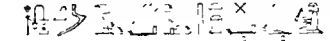
29. To the left of nos. 26 and 27, in large hieroglyphs:  'Pwēḥ' (3 A).

30. In hieroglyphs:  'The scribe who counts the gold Anupem-ḥab' (3 B).

31.  'The mayor and prophet Neferronpe' (3 C, 3 D).


32. To the left of no. 31:  'The scribe Phont, son of Huy' (3 C, 3 D).

33. Under no. 31:  'The scribe Amenmose' (3 C, 3 D).

34. To the left of no. 33:  'The scribe Kemḥersōtef' (3 C, 3 D).

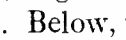
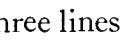
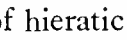
35. Under no. 33:  'Penōne, Nefer . . .' (3 C, 3 D).

36. To the left of no. 35:  'The deputy Ḥatiay' (3 C, 3 D).

37. Stela with rounded top carved on a fallen rock. Top register: Sun-disk with uraei in the centre, beneath it an offering-table with . To the left of the offering-table Amūn with two long feathers on his head standing →, 1-sceptre in his left hand; to the right the falcon-headed Horus standing ←, 1-sceptre in his right hand. Horus is shorter so as to leave room for a man (king?) standing ← in the register below. The space in front of the man is too weathered for anything to be distinguished on the photograph.


Immediately below this stela another, rectangular, but broader stela has been added, overlapping the upper stela to the right by about half the width of the latter. In the two-thirds on the left a high base seems to be represented with six columns or poles erected on the top of it. On the right in front of the base perhaps an offering-table and a standing human figure ← (3 E).




38 A group of three stelae with rounded tops, close together.

(a) Middle stela, larger than the other two. The rounded top is damaged but seems to have been blank. Below, three lines of hieratic: (1)  (2)  (3)  'Horus, the great god, lord of Bak. Ḥatiay, son of Si' (4 C, 4 E, 4 F).

(b) Stela to the left of (a). Falcon → standing on a naos. The inscription in front of the falcon is completely destroyed (4 C, 4 F).

(c) Stela to the right of (a). Falcon with double crown standing — on a naos, a uraeus in front and a sun-disk with pendent uraeus behind the falcon. In front of the

falcon an inscription in the following order:  'Horus, lord of Bak, great god,

lord of heaven', and below in horizontal lines (1)  (2)  (3)  'Made by Pha'pe' (4 C, 4 E, 4 F).

¹ Printed grouping differs from original.

² Lines 1 and 2 written from left to right.

39. At a little distance to the right of the preceding three stelae (nos. 38, *a-c*) and a little above is another stela the lower part of which only can be seen on the photograph 4 E. It shows three lines written in hieratic: (1) (2) (3) ' who makes to live the name of his lord, Horus, son of Isis' (4 E).

40. 'Made by the scribe Neferho (?), son of the prophet Pesiūr' (4 D).

G. Wādi Beīga, 3 km. above junction with Wādi Dungash¹

41. Sketch on a leaf torn from a diary supported by two unnumbered photographs shows a bubalus-antelope → drawn over a ship. Below is an inscription in three lines which I am unable to read. The first line perhaps (fig. 2).

42. Another sketch marked 'at BIR Dungash' may be interpreted (1) (2) (3) (4) ' one at the head of the king, overseer of scribes of . . . Intef' (fig. 3).

43. An unnumbered photograph shows (1) (2) 'The retainer the scribe Ḥotpēf (?)' and to the left of it 'Chief of dragomans ' (fig. 4).

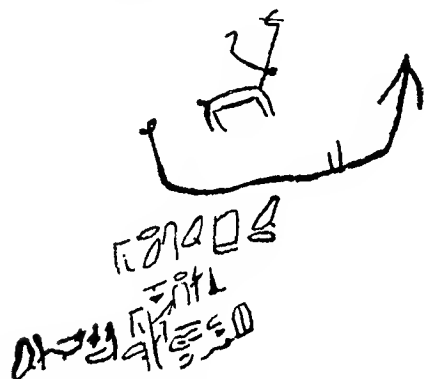


FIG. 2. Graffito no. 41.

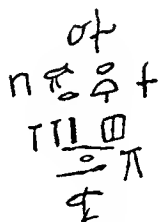


FIG. 3. Graffito no. 42.

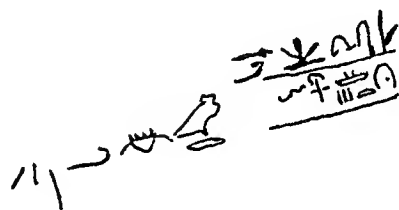


FIG. 4. Graffito no. 43.

With the exception of the last three, nos. 41 to 43, which are probably of Middle Kingdom date, all the graffiti belong to the New Kingdom, or more precisely to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, as is shown both by their palaeography and by the proper names occurring in them. This is confirmed by the sole dated graffito, no. 27, dated in year 40, which—Tuthmosis III being excluded on palaeographical grounds—can refer only to Ramesses II, as no other N.K. ruler reigned so long.

It is noticeable that so far as the contents of the graffiti are concerned, there is but little to excite our interest, for most of them consist solely of titles and proper names. Even the latter are mostly quite common and add but little to our knowledge of the personal names current during the New Kingdom. The only names not hitherto attested are *Ni-šwy* of no. 15; *Inūwy* of no. 17; *Tnr-hri* of no. 19 and *Rmssw-hr* of no. 26. What really is interesting about these graffiti is the very fact of their existence

¹ I was unable to find any information concerning Dungash.

in the Wādi el-'Allāḳi. They prove that this was the route taken by travellers to reach the farther end of the gold-mining country at Umm el-Garayāt, a description of which by Bonomi can be found in Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (ed. Birch), II, 238.¹ It is probably the road so gloomily described in the Kubān stela (ll. 9-10 and 20) of Ramesses II² and the excavation at Huḳab el-'Askar may be, as Mr. Murray suggests, the actual well sunk by Ramesses and described in the inscription. The stela itself comes from Kubān, which was situated not far north of the point where the Wādi el-'Allāḳi leaves the Nile Valley. The ancient name of Kuban was *Bḥk*, and this is the place whence the scribe Nebentēre, son of Ḥori, is said to have come (no. 20). The local god was Horus, so it is not a matter for surprise that several ex-votos to Horus 'lord of Bak' are found among the graffiti (nos. 38 *a-c*; also, though not expressly named, in nos. 14, 22, 24, and 37 [together with Amūn]). He is certainly identical with 'Horus, son of Isis' of no. 39 and probably it is he who is meant by 'His lord' in no. 11.³

No traveller of high rank is recorded in the graffiti on this lonely track. The most distinguished perhaps were the 'King's Commissioner to all foreign countries'⁴ of no. 22 and the 'mayor and prophet' of no. 31. 'Mayor' (*ḥṣty-r*) at this period was the title of the head of a nome, and Kubān was the capital of a Nubian district, the equivalent of a nome in Egypt proper. All the other graffiti belong to persons of low rank; 'retainers' (*šmsw*) (nos. 9 and 12); 'chiefs of retainers' (nos. 15 and 23); 'chief of the stable' (no. 13); 'soldier' (no. 17); 'servants' (*sdm*) (nos. 19 and 26); and 'deputy' (no. 36). We translate 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *šmsw* as 'retainer' because in the M.K. this title was commonly borne by armed men attendant on king or baron, but in the Ramesside period the *šmsw* seem in most cases to be letter-carriers,⁵ and it is possible that the four men of this rank who passed through the Wādi el-'Allāḳi did so to deliver correspondence from or to the mining district. The majority of travellers, however, were 'scribes'. One was 'scribe of the quarter' (no. 25), the 'quarter' being probably a subdivision of the Kubān district; one was 'scribe of the treasury' (no. 27). The latter and another (no. 30) were scribes 'who counted the gold', and therefore were certainly stationed at the mines.

The 'scribe Nebentēre, son of Ḥori' seems to have been a much-travelled person. Not only has he left four graffiti along the Wādi el-'Allāḳi (nos. 11, 20, 21, 28), but we meet his name on rocks farther down the Nile between Kalābshah and Dendūr⁶ and near Umbarekab,⁷ and upstream near Tonkālah.⁸ He is perhaps identical with 'the retainer Nebentēre' found at Tushka.⁹ 'His lord' for whom he made a graffito there is not Horus, as one would expect on the strength of our graffito no. 11, but 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 , the deified conqueror of Nubia Sesostris III.

¹ I owe this reference to Kees, *Aegypten* (in *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*), p. 129, no. 6.

² Tresson, *La stèle de Koubân* (Cairo, 1922); translated by Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, III, §§ 285-93.

³ See, however, n. 9 below for a graffito where *nb-f* refers to the deified king Sesostris III.

⁴ For this title see Steindorff, *JEA* XXV, 31 f.

⁵ Cf. e.g. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 9, 7; 17, 10; 67, 3.

⁶ Weigall, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, p. 76.

⁷ Weigall, *op. cit.*, 113.

⁸ Roeder, *Dehōd bis Kalabshch*, pl. 118, d.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 66, right.

THE POSITION OF AST-RASET

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT

NASTASEN'S great stela gives the date when the announcement of his accession to the throne was made to him at Meroë and also that of his coronation at Napata. It also gives the name of his first stopping-place on his road from Meroë. With these details and the accounts of modern travellers it ought not to be difficult to decide the route which he followed and hence to locate his first halt.

The dates are these: 'Not men have made him (i.e. me) king on that 24th, when thou gavest me the lordship',¹ and 'Last day of Choiakh: the day on which the crown was given to the Son of Rê, Nastasen'.² As the last day of the month was the 30th, Nastasen had reached Napata and was crowned on the sixth day after he had heard at Meroë the news of his accession on the 24th. He therefore took six to seven days on the journey from Meroë to Napata. It is impossible to be more precise than this, for we do not know either the hour of his start, or that of his arrival, or that of his coronation.

Moreover, he tells us that at the end of the journey he reached a place *T-k*, where he was met by all the priests of Amün at Napata, and whence he crossed the river to the great temple. To have reached Napata in six or seven days he could not have gone round by the river, negotiating the Fifth and Fourth Cataracts on the way.

He therefore must have taken one of the routes across the desert, of which there are two. The traveller may descend the Nile to Berber and take off thence across the desert for Napata (modern Merowe) by a good road of some 149 miles.³ The journey from Kabushia (ancient Meroë) to Berber is some 88 miles, making a total of 237 miles. This, however, can be reduced somewhat by leaving the river at Ed-Damer, whence one may strike into this road. It is, however, a roundabout way of reaching Napata and quite unnecessary, for there is another desert road which goes direct from the one city to the other.

The direct route is the one now used in travelling to and from the modern towns of Matammah and Korti, neither of which is far from the ancient sites with which we are dealing. It is considerably the shorter of the two, for the distance between the two modern towns is given as only 172 miles.⁴ This comparative shortness alone speaks in its favour, for the sooner the heir to the throne can get his claim acknowledged the better, and this would have been especially so in Nastasen's case, for there were evidently others who had claims to the succession.⁵ It is a good road with water all the

¹ H. Schäfer, *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, l. 19.

² Op. cit., l. 43. In l. 16 he speaks again of 'the last day' of the month when Amün of Napata gave him the kingship of Nubia, Alwa, etc., but gives the month as Hathyr. However, for the present purposes the actual month makes no difference, for they all had 30 days.

³ Count Gleichen, *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, II, 181.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 174-8.

⁵ Schäfer, op. cit., ll. 5-7. Nastasen says: 'Then I called all the relatives (?) of the king who were in Meroë and said to them "Up! Go and seek him, our guide (?), with me . . ."'. Then said they to me "We will not go with me (thee). Thou art indeed his good son, whom Amün of Napata thy good father loveth".'

not for a journey downstream by boat. Moreover, since then Schäfer has proved that the word Astaboras is made up of the good Nubian words *ast* + *ab(u?)* + *or* meaning Water + Darkness + Branch, which is what Pliny says it means when he gives the translation as 'Branch of Water coming from Darkness'.¹ Thus, quite apart from the improbability that Nastasen would have taken the longer and circuitous route, this disposes of the idea that the name of his first stopping-place has anything to do with the Atbara.

In this way Schäfer has shown once more, what Brugsch had previously pointed out, that the ~~word~~ would only be the determinative of the word *isd*, for that means 'water'.² Thus, the name is reduced to the *Isd-rst* which is generally accepted. As the name is now seen to mean 'The Water of *rst*', and then probably with the original idea of the Astaboras (Atbara) in mind, it is generally supposed that the place must have lain somewhere on the Nile. But opinions differ as to whereabouts this would be, and no definite suggestion has yet been made as to a place to which the name might refer. Schäfer supposes that *Isd-rst* would be situated somewhere on the left bank of the Nile.³ On the other hand, Schiaparelli says⁴ that in his opinion it must have been on the right bank. M. Gauthier's view is that it was probably situated on the bank of a river or on the branch of a river. With all the foregoing in mind he naturally thinks the place would be to the north of Meroë.⁵ Thus, hitherto everyone has thought only of the Nile.

There is, however, one place which exactly fits the requirements of Nastasen's statement and it lies nowhere near the Nile, but out in the desert, or wilderness as it should rather be called, on the direct, shortest, and in modern times the usual, road from Meroë to Napata. It is the oasis of Abu Klea.

It was at Abu Klea that the Mahdi's army awaited and fought the expedition, coming from near Napata, for the relief of Gordon at Khartūm. In his account of the campaign Sir Charles Wilson says that from Abu Klea to the Nile near Matammah is only a matter of 25 miles, and that the journey back only took the Camel Regiment's escort 7½ hours.⁶ In the advance one night's march had sufficed to bring the army to the Nile.⁷ Matammah is on the west bank of the Nile due south of Abu Klea, and Meroë is about the same distance away almost due east of the oasis but on the eastern bank. The only difference between Nastasen's and Sir C. Wilson's journeys would be that the former had to cross the river. Sir Charles says that at Abu Klea 'The wells are a series of pits in the sand of the valley-bed, with little basins at the bottom into which the water trickles. There are great numbers of them,

¹ Id. in *ZÄS* xxxiii, 97-9. Schäfer gives the reference as v, 53 (10), which in Teubner's edition is v, ix, 10 (53).

² Id. in loc. cit. and xxxiv, 92. The word appears in a number of the river names in Ethiopia which are recorded by the classical writers, such as Astasobas (the Blue Nile), Astapus (the main stream between the Blue Nile and the Atbara), as well as Astaboras (the Atbara). *Ast-* has for a long time been widely recognized as being identical with the modern Nubian word *essi, oto, otu*, meaning 'water'.

³ Id., *Die äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums*, p. 30.

⁴ *La Geografia dell' Africa orientale*, p. 201, No. 74.

⁵ *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, I, 107, s.v.

⁶ Sir C. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 48, 267.

⁷ Id., op. cit., pp. 56, 57.

but some are much better than others.¹ As has already been seen, he includes Abu Klea in his list of places along the road where there is good water. Other travellers have spoken of these wells. Hoskins 'arrived at a spot called Aboulay where numerous wells occur. The Arabs filled their water-skins; . . . it (the water) seemed tolerably sweet and wholesome.'² Rüppell says that he found great areas with durrah fields in the district of the well of Abule.³ Lepsius calls the place Abu Tleh, but beyond mentioning the well there has nothing further to say about it.⁴

While Sir Charles Wilson only took $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours to reach Abu Klea, Hoskins took 11 hours, both of them coming from the west bank of the Nile. Lepsius took very much longer owing to difficulties with his caravan and did not arrive until the third day. This would not have been the fate of the heir to the throne with his retinue of retainers and, as we may be sure, relations,⁵ and no doubt Nastasen covered his 25 miles at least as quickly as did Hoskins, possibly even as quickly as Sir Charles Wilson, and certainly no longer than it took the army to march the distance, which was only a single night. In any case a journey of even 11 hours is not a long one for desert travelling. With nothing more than some fatigue the present writer travelled between 12 and 13 hours a day, accomplishing something over 30 miles each day, in crossing the desert between the Oases of Dakhlah and Khargah. The natives with him would have gone on longer.⁶ Nastasen would, therefore, easily have slept the first night of his journey at the wells of Abu Klea, which is thus evidently the place he calls *ʾIsd-rst*, 'The Water of *rst*'.

To this it may be added that the map shows the distance between the modern places, Matammah and Korti, to be very much the same as that between the ancient ones, Meroë and Napata. Hence, as the distance between the modern places is 172 miles, this figure will serve for the distance between the ancient ones. Hence, again, the whole journey continued at the rate of only the 25 miles of the first day would have brought Nastasen to Napata in exactly 7 days. As he took something between 6 and 7 days, he clearly pushed on rather more quickly in some of the stages, as well he might. At the rate of 30 miles a day, which has been shown to be in no way excessive, he would have done his journey in 6 days.

¹ Id., op. cit., p. 39.

² G. A. Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia*, p. 126. On p. 41 Wilson also says of Abu Klea 'the water though muddy, was cool and sweet'.

³ E. Rüppell, *Reisen in Nubien, Kordofan und dem peträischen Arabien*, p. 99.

⁴ Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien, und der Halbinsel des Sinai*, 22nd Letter, p. 228. *Tleh* is the name of a special kind of grass (Gleichen, *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1, 210), so that Abu Tleh would be the correct form of the name.

⁵ The people whom in ll. 5, 6 he so strangely mentions as 'all the relatives (?) of the king' and who refused to accompany him to Napata would presumably have been not his own immediate relatives, but those of the king who had just died. They apparently formed a party in opposition to him. There evidently was some difficulty about his succession as Schäfer points out (pp. 24-6, §§ 3, 5). It is also apparent in his statement in l. 19 'It is not men who have made him (me) king on that 24th when thou gavest me the lordship', and from his conversation with the travellers (?) from Napata as to public opinion in the capital (ll. 7, 8).

⁶ For some other details of this journey see *JEA* xxi, 260, 261. It is reckoned to be about 90 miles from the town of Khargah to Tenidah, the 'port' of Dakhlah Oasis. The journey by camel and walking took 37 hours' travelling, which gives an average speed of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. In coming to Tenidah from Smint the camels had marched at the rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles an hour on the motor-road which on the map measured 18 miles. They covered the distance in $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours which was good going, as it is reckoned a 7-hour journey.

Before closing it should be remarked that the time taken on the journey may not absolutely exclude the longer way round via Ed-Damer, though it makes it highly unlikely. If Nastasen had been able to cover the 56 miles to Ed-Damer on the first day, he could have accomplished the rest of the journey in 5 days, making 6 days in all. This, however, is improbable in itself and could only have been accomplished by using a boat for his first day's journey. In any case it would have been an unnecessary proceeding seeing that there is the shorter, direct, much-used road, and that on this road the stopping-place is conveniently situated. It is moreover a place of some importance owing to its wells, whence it would be likely to acquire its name compounded with *isd* 'water'.

FOUR KUSHITE COLOSSI IN THE SUDAN

By DOWS DUNHAM

IN November and December 1946 I had the privilege of visiting many of the ancient sites between Wādī Halfa and Khartūm in the company of A. J. Arkell, Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology of the Sudan Government, Miss Rosalind Moss of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and John D. Cooney, Curator of Egyptology at the Brooklyn Museum. Having for some years been much occupied in studying the records of Dr. George A. Reisner's excavations in the Sudan for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, I was happy to have this opportunity to revisit some of the sites on which I had worked with him, and to see for the first time others which I did not know. The purpose of this article is to propose the identification of four colossal statues which I saw in the course of this journey (pls. XII ff.).

These statues are all made of the distinctive grey granite from the quarries at Tumbus just above the Third Cataract, a source of hard stone which was worked at least as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty, as attested by rock inscriptions still legible. The first statue still lies in the quarry: a standing male royal figure about 4 metres high, uninscribed, but nearly, if not quite, finished. Its head, however, had been damaged and is now a mere featureless lump; it was because of this that the statue was abandoned where it lay (fig. 1).¹ The second colossus now stands in the provincial museum at Merawi (Dongola). It was originally excavated by Budge, who illustrates the head (fig. 2).² The torso (fig. 3) remained lying in the Meroitic portico of Temple B 700 at Gebel Barkal when Reisner excavated the site in 1916, but was later removed to Merawi where, joined to its head, it bears the museum number 21. This is also a standing royal statue, uninscribed and not quite finished. It wears the traditional royal kilt and the double crown with two uraei. The workmanship and modelling are distinctly inferior to those of the first figure and the face is markedly Ptolemaic in character. I was unable to obtain measurements, but the statue is very large, about 6 to 7 metres in height. The third and fourth statues form a pair, lying on their backs at the eastern edge of what appears to have been a large temple on the island of Argo, not far south of Tumbus (figs. 4 and 5).³ The building is completely ruined but, to judge by the large quantity of burnt brick used on the site, was of Meroitic or later date. Each of these figures is about 7 metres in height (according to Lepsius): the northern one is broken in the middle, but the southern one is complete, although both arms are badly damaged. In style both are quite coarse and of distinctly Meroitic type. Standing on [*sic*] the right foot of the northern figure is a male child wearing the royal kilt, the feather and disk head-dress, and with the attributes of Harpocrates—undoubtedly the

¹ Lepsius, *Denkm.* 1, pl. 120 c; Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroë*, 2nd plate vol., pl. 6; Hoskins, *Travels in Ethiopia*, p. 217, vignette p. 218; Breasted, Chicago Oriental Institute Photos P 3106-7.

² Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, 1, 150. Breasted, Photos P. 3014-17.

³ Lepsius, *Denkm.* 1, pl. 120 a-b; text v, 247-8; Cailliaud, op. cit., 2nd plate vol., pls. 2-4; Hoskins, op. cit., p. 213, illustrated on pp. 210, 212, 214; Breasted, Photos P. 3083, 3086-9, 3091.

son and heir of the king portrayed in the large figures. Both statues wear a crude form of the royal kilt and are crowned with the double crown and twin uraei. Each also wears a sort of corselet extending to below the breasts and supported by shoulder-straps fastened by a peculiar double-lunate tie. While the southern figure wears the conventional broad collar, the northern one has a string of very large ball beads around his neck. Lastly, the southern colossus has an olive wreath in relief on the red crown, a detail strongly suggestive of the Roman victor's wreath (figs. 6 and 7).¹

It will be noted that none of these statues bears any inscription and their attribution must therefore be made on stylistic grounds or by comparison with other datable works. The two Argo colossi, which I saw first, appeared to be distinctively Meroitic in the details of costume as well as in the style of their modelling. I based this feeling on my familiarity with the chapel reliefs in the royal pyramids at Meroë, and as I was to visit these at a later stage in our journey, I noted certain elements for future comparison. The large ball beads around the neck are found in many of the reliefs of the Middle and Late Meroitic Period at Meroë. The corselet with shoulder-straps, and especially the peculiar fastenings of the latter, looked Meroitic also, but at that time I did not recall any parallels, while the wreath placed about the red crown on the southern figure was so clearly of Roman inspiration that it could hardly be earlier than the end of the first century B.C.

The next day I saw the Tumbus quarry statue (fig. 1). Reisner's excavations at Gebel Barkal yielded ten inscribed standing granite statues of Napatan kings with which this figure may be compared in style. All ten figures came from the great Temple of Amūn (B 500) and were undoubtedly of the best workmanship of their day. They range from Taharkā (5)² through Tanwetamani (6), Senkamaniskeñ (8), Anlamani (9), Aspelta (10), to Akhratañ (25). The Tumbus figure is closest in style to those of Tanwetamani and is, I feel confident, to be attributed to the first phase of the Napatan Kingdom of Kush, not later than 650 B.C.

Returning from the lower end of Dongola, several visits to the provincial museum at Merawi gave me an opportunity to examine the colossal statue No. 21 in that collection. In his preliminary report on 'The Barkal Temples in 1916',³ Reisner attributed this figure tentatively to Atlanersa (7), the builder of the original Temple B 700, and he went on to make the suggestion that the Tumbus quarry figure was a companion piece, although both in style and size it is quite different. His further suggestion, in the same place, that the two Argo figures might also be of Atlanersa must, I believe, be quite definitely set aside. It should be remembered that the only material readily available to Reisner were the old drawings of Lepsius, Cailliaud, and Hoskins, from which it is quite impossible to draw any valid conclusions as to style and quality. My own opinion, based on the style of the Barkal figure itself, and especially its face, is

¹ All photographs in this article were taken by Breasted during an expedition to the Sudan in the first decade of this century. They are used by generous permission of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

² The numeral in brackets is the sequence number of the Kings of Kush: 65 rulers beginning with Kashta (750 B.C.) and ending with the fall of Meroë in the middle of the fourth century A.D. See my recent article 'Notes on the History of Kush' in *AJA* L (1946), 378-88, and especially the Chronological Chart on p. 387.

³ *JEA* v (1918), 109. Also cited as No. 37 in same author's 'Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal' in *ZAS* LXVI (1931), p. 82.



1. GRANITE STATUE IN QUARRY AT TUMBUS



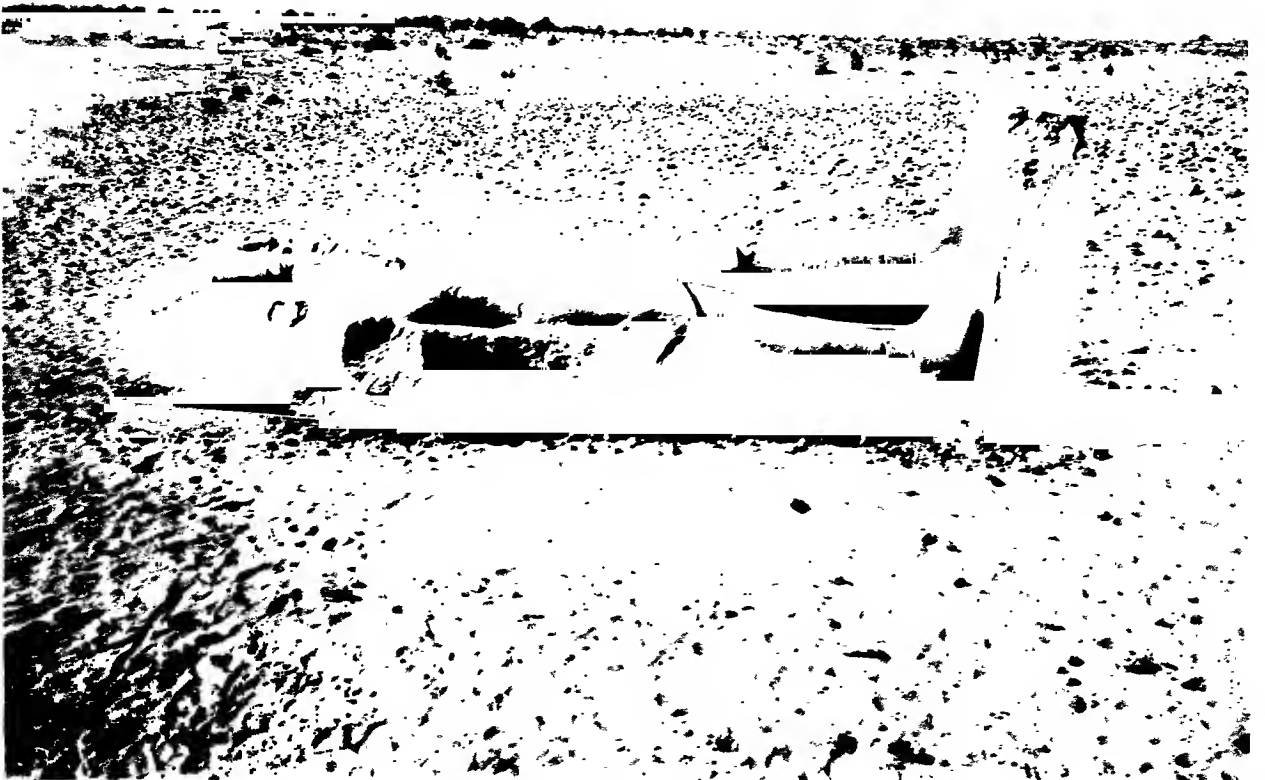
2. HEAD OF GRANITE STATUE FROM BARKAL 700, AS FOUND



3. TORSO OF STATUE FROM BARKAL 700, AS FOUND



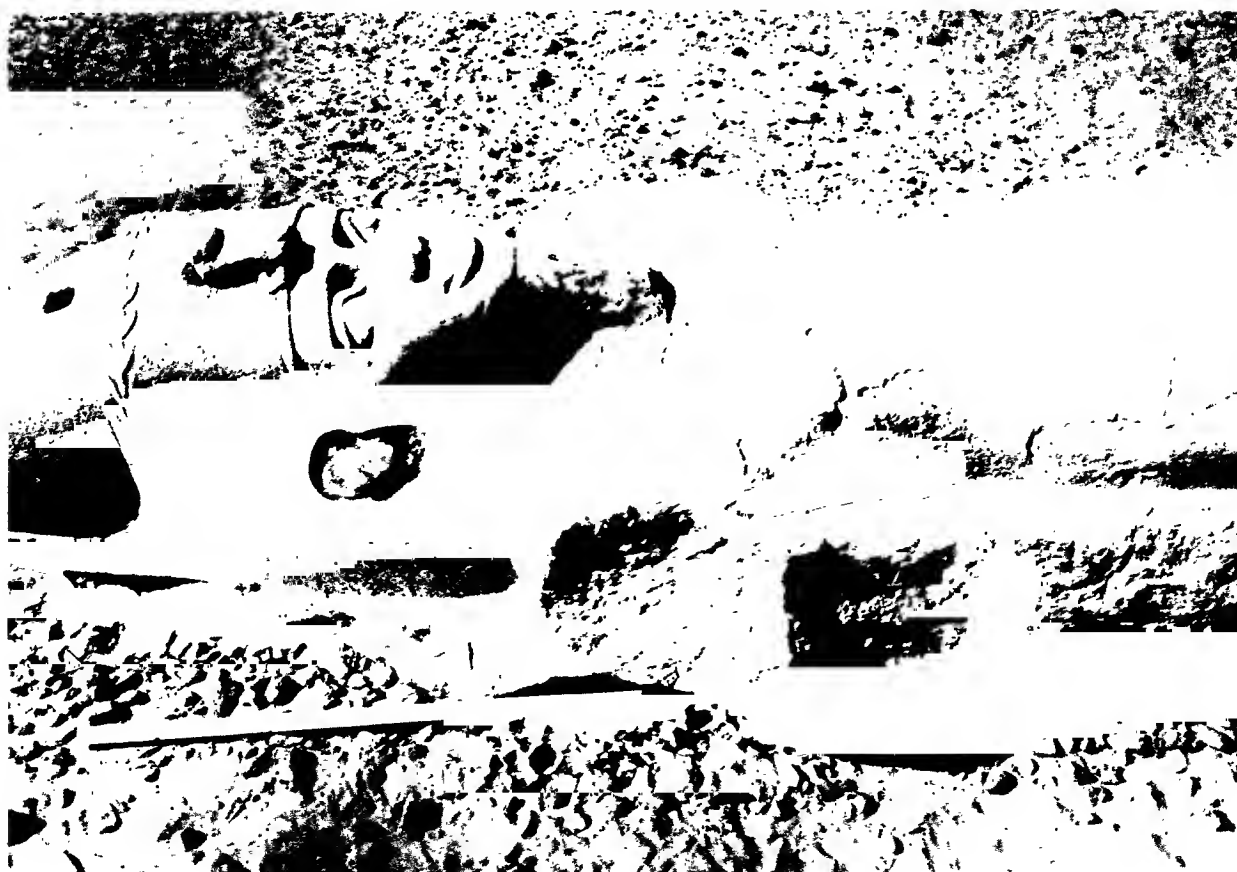
4. NORTH COLOSSUS, ARGO ISLAND



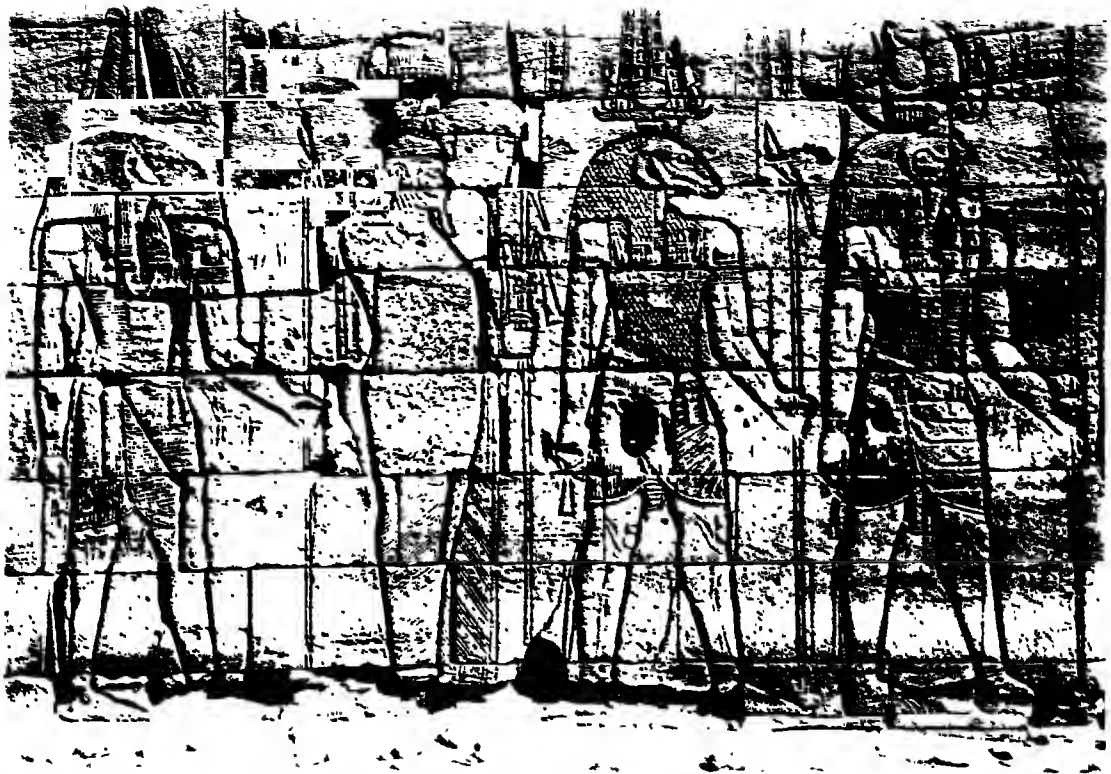
5. SOUTH COLOSSUS, ARGO ISLAND



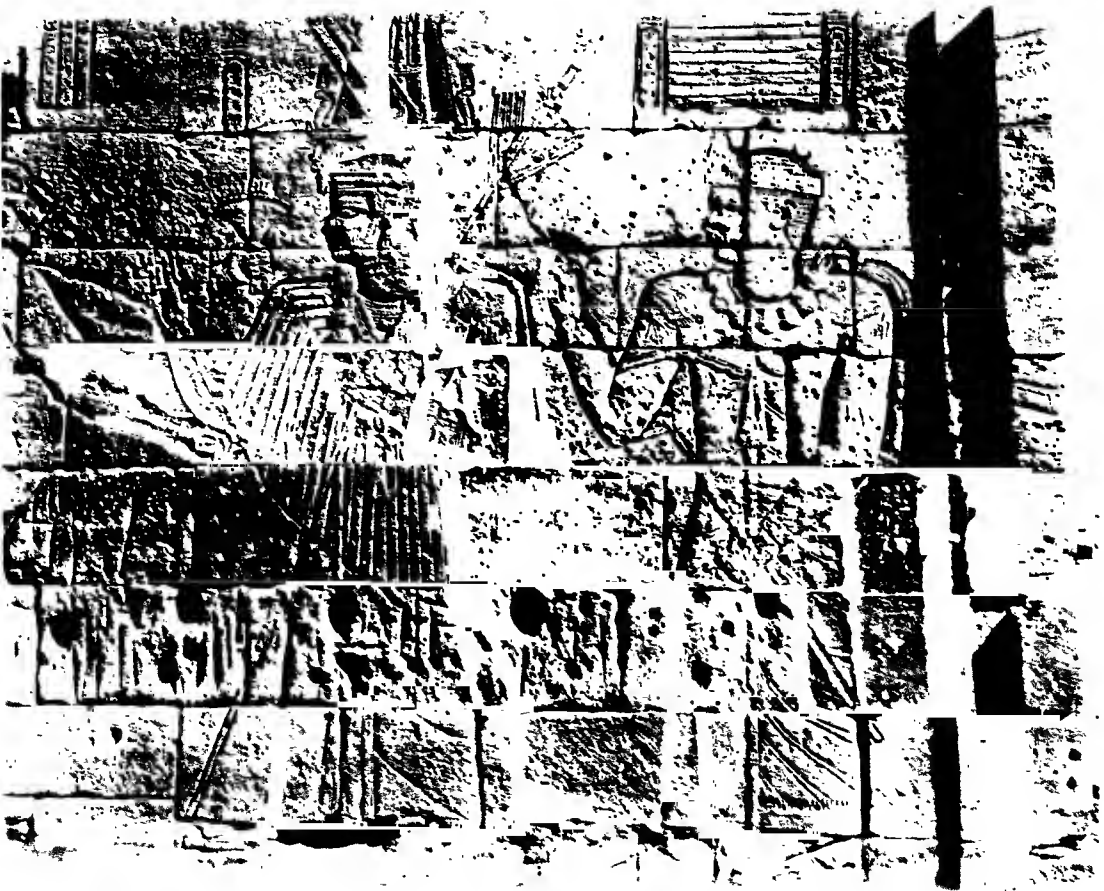
6. DETAIL, NORTH FIGURE, ARGO



7. DETAIL, SOUTH FIGURE, ARGO



8. LION TEMPLE, NAGA; RELIEFS ON SOUTH WALL



9. LION TEMPLE, NAGA; RELIEFS ON WEST WALL

that it must be post-Napatan, and I believe it should be attributed to the Meroitic phase of Temple B 700. We have no evidence as to which king or kings of Meroë restored and enlarged the temple, and it is impossible to be certain as to the ruler represented in the statue. Nevertheless, the modelling of the face is so reminiscent of Ptolemaic work that I am inclined to limit the possibilities to some king who lived during that period. The most obvious candidate is Ergamenes, thirty-third on my chronological list, who reigned from 225 to 200 B.C., and is known to have had close relations with Ptolemaic Egypt.¹ He was buried in Pyramid N 7 at Meroë, the first in date of the five largest and finest tombs of the Meroitic Period, and he was obviously a ruler sufficiently powerful to be credited with such a monument as this figure.

Reverting now to the two Argo colossi, our stay at Meroë itself did not throw light on their identity, but our next visit, to the Temples of Naga, east of Shendi, did. On this seldom-visited site is the well-preserved Lion Temple of King Natakamani (44), who ruled from 15 B.C. to A.D. 15, and who was a most prolific builder. His reign marks the close of the third and greatest phase of the Meroitic Kingdom of Kush. The well-preserved reliefs on the exterior walls of this temple supplied the evidence which was needed for the probable identification of the Argo statues. Fig. 8 shows four figures of deities from the south wall, and three of them wear corselets with shoulder-straps very similar to those on our statues. Fig. 9, from the west wall, shows King Natakamani followed by a figure of the Crown Prince Arikankharēr, and the latter wears a necklace of the same heavy ball beads seen on the broken colossus. Furthermore, around his head is a fillet, upon which a wreath is depicted in low relief. Since this detail is not clear in the photograph, I add a line drawing after a sketch made on the spot to show it (fig. 10). Natakamani appears to have been the last of the

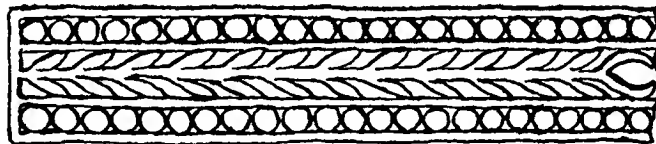


FIG. 10. Detail; Fillet on head of prince.

great kings of Meroë. His was one of the largest tombs in the royal cemetery and his name, together with that of his Queen Amanitēre and the Crown Prince Arikankharēr, appears on more monuments than that of any other ruler of the line. This gives me little hesitation in assigning the two Argo colossi to him, and the figure of the child on the foot of the northern colossus to one of his three sons, probably Prince Arikankharēr.

To sum up, I propose to assign the Tumbus quarry statue to a king of the early Napatan Period, most probably either Taharḳa (5) or Tanwetamani (6). The colossus from Barkal (Merawi Museum No. 21) I would assign, on grounds of style, to the most prominent king of the pertinent period, namely, Ergamenes (33), and I am confident that the two Argo figures should be attributed to Natakamani (44). I would add that, to the best of my knowledge, the last three mentioned figures are the only large-scale royal statues of the Meroitic Period in hard stone so far known.

¹ See, for example, Diodorus, III, 6.

LETTERS FROM MASPERO TO AMELIA EDWARDS

By WARREN R. DAWSON

AMONGST the books and papers bequeathed by Miss Amelia Edwards to Somerville College, Oxford, there is a packet of seventy-one letters written to her by Maspero between 1878 and 1891.¹ On reading these letters through I found them to contain so much of interest and value to the history of Egyptology and the early days of the Egypt Exploration Fund that I came to the conclusion that they were worthy of being published *in extenso*. The cost and difficulties of printing under present conditions, however, render full publication impracticable, but in order that the letters may be put on record I decided to epitomize and annotate them, and, the Council of the College having kindly given me permission for publication in this manner, I now offer the correspondence in a condensed form to the readers of this *Journal*, although by such method of presentation the charm and delightful style, so characteristic of Maspero's writings, is lost.

The careers of both Maspero and Miss Edwards are so well known to Egyptologists that it is needless to give here any biographical particulars of either.² By members of this Society the name of Miss Edwards will always be held in remembrance, as it was due to her initiative and efforts that the Egypt Exploration Fund was founded in 1882. How Maspero and Miss Edwards first became acquainted I have not been able to discover, but he was evidently no stranger to her when in 1878 he wrote the first of the letters here summarized. He was then living in Paris, engaged in his professorial duties at the Collège de France and the École des Hautes Études, and busy with the preparation of the endless stream of publications that flowed from his pen. The letters disclose the origin and development of many of these, as well as some illuminating comments on his colleagues and contemporaries. The whole course of his career was suddenly changed when at the end of 1880 he was sent to Egypt by the French Government to establish the Mission Archéologique in Cairo, a foundation which afterwards became the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Soon after his arrival in Egypt the death of Mariette placed Maspero at the head of the Antiquities Service, and his letters give us a vivid picture of his activities, both at the Museum and during the long annual journeys he made up the Nile to carry out inspections and excavations.³ During this

¹ Including three letters from Mme Maspero (to two of which M. has added postscripts) and one from Mme Naville. I have to thank Prof. Gunn for making these letters known to me and for procuring the loan of them from the Librarian of Somerville College.

² A notice of Maspero was published by Naville in *JEA* IV, 227-34; many other biographical and obituary notices of him are listed in Henri Cordier's *Bibliographie des Œuvres de Gaston Maspero* (Paris, 1922), 127-35. Of Amelia Ann Blanford Edwards (1831-92) there is a good notice in *DNB.*, Supp. II, 176-8, by J. S. Cotton, and a full and interesting account of her early life by her cousin, M. Betham Edwards, appeared in the *New England Mag.* (Boston, Mass.), N.S. VII, no. 5, Jan. 1893, 547-64. An account of her life, home, and collections was contributed by Miss Edwards herself to the *Arena* (Boston), IV, no. 3, Aug. 1891, 299-310.

³ During the period from 1881 onwards the letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour cover much of the same ground as Maspero's, and should be read in conjunction with them, as they often supply additional information. These



MISS A. EDWARDS



G. MASPERO

period many historic events in Egyptology occurred: the discovery of the Royal Mummies, the excavation of the Pyramids of Saqqārah, and the opening-up of many new sites ranging from the Old Kingdom to Coptic times. The letters show us at first hand the difficulties with which Maspero had to contend from native officials, from rivals, and from his own staff, and the consummate tact and skill with which he overcame them. During the summer months of each year he returned to Paris, busy with the publication of the results of his active campaigns. There is no need in these introductory remarks to specify any details—these will be found in the epitomes that follow—but there is one point that deserves special mention. Absorbed as he was all his life in Egyptology, Maspero found time to be a voluminous and almost omnivorous reader of novels, plays, and poetry, not only in French but in English and many other languages, and he took the greatest interest in the current events of all nations. Students who know Maspero only as an Egyptologist may find it strange to discover in his letters allusions to English novels, to the poems of Longfellow and Charles Kingsley, and to the Tichbourne Trial.

In the epitomes of the letters that follow, many details have necessarily been omitted, and even after the most rigorous condensation the bare summaries have run to considerable length. One letter only (No. 25) has been given in full. In the headings of the letters I have preserved Maspero's spelling, but in the text all place-names have been rendered in conformity with the practice of this *Journal*. I have inserted notes and references to explain allusions which might otherwise be obscure to those not intimately acquainted with Maspero's works, and I have added short biographical notices of most of the persons mentioned in the letters. In addition to the abbreviations customarily used, I have employed the symbols *EE* and *EM* to denote respectively Maspero's *Études Égyptiennes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1886–90, and his *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes*, 8 vols., Paris, 1893–1916, into which many of his separate papers have been collected. The single letters E. and M. stand for Miss Edwards and Maspero respectively.

The portrait of Maspero here reproduced is from a photograph he sent to Miss Edwards in 1883 (see Letter No. 29),¹ and that of Miss Edwards was taken in New York during her visit to America in 1890. It was given to me in 1934 by our former Secretary, Miss Emily Paterson, who knew Miss Edwards well and to whom I am also indebted for many interesting particulars of her communicated in recent letters. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Librarian of Somerville College for allowing me access to the letters and to the Library Committee and Council of the College for their kind permission to publish them.

1. *Paris, 1878, Apl. 9*

Thanks E. for her compliments on his article in *Rev. arch.* [title not stated; M.'s then most recent article in that journal was *Sur deux monuments nouveaux du règne de Ramsès II*, N.S. XXXIV, 319 =

letters were published by Prof. Jean Capart under the title *Travels in Egypt*, Brooklyn, 1936. This work is hereafter referred to as *Wilbour Letters*.

¹ Published as frontispiece to Cordier's *Bibliographie* and reproduced here by kind permission of the Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

EM IV, 15]; sends notes and comments on many passages of E.'s book [*A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, first published in 1877].

2. *Paris, 1878, Aug. 9*

Thanks E. for her appreciation of his article in which he has endeavoured not only to translate the text but to preserve the archaic form of its language [the article is not named, but it is evidently *Le Conte des deux Frères*, *Rev. arch.*, N.S. xxxv, 164 = *EM* IV, 43]; offers to inscribe and send a reprint of it.

3. *Paris, 1878, Oct. 17*

Thanks E. for proposed notice by her in the *Academy*; sends copy of *Deux Frères* and another paper, not named; will send translations of other Egyptian tales as soon as they are ready—*The Doomed Prince* and *Story of Satne*; is a great reader of novels and has probably read as many English novels as any man in the world; considers archaeology a form of romance in its bringing to life the peoples of the past.

4. *Paris, 1878, Dec. 8*

Is preoccupied with the preparation of his professorial lectures; thanks E. for an article on his method of transcribing Egyptian words; defends his system and gives examples; has re-read *Barbara's Story* and *Debenham's Vow*;¹ analysis of these novels and their plots and motives.

5. *Paris, 1879, Apl. 28*

Thanks E. for her notice of his lecture [probably that delivered at the Sorbonne, Feb. 8, 1879, and reprinted in *EM* I, 35], which she is sending to the *Academy*.

6. *Paris, 1879, May 9*

Thanks E. for the flattering article [doubtless that referred to in No. 5]; will send copies of his forthcoming translations when ready; delay in obtaining publication and reprints in scientific journals.

7. *Paris, 1879, July 1*

Thanks E. for a parcel of books; is particularly pleased with her two collections of poems² and has recommended their introduction into the libraries of French educational establishments; his pleasure at finding in the collection many of his favourites, especially the poems of Charles Kingsley; E.'s report of his lecture in which she has misunderstood his conception of the *Ka*; Renouf's views; is indifferent to priorities, all that matters is the publication of the truth; thanks E. for her *Academy* review of Brugsch's *Geschichte Ägyptens* (1877).

8. *Paris, 1879, July 23*

Thanks E. for gift of Kingsley's poems; his admiration of them and considers some superior to Longfellow; has been to the country to visit his children; his stories will be produced by the Imprimerie Nationale ['Romans et Poésies du Papyrus Harris' = *EE* I, 1–80]; progress of his studies; until the age of 27 he made his living by teaching Latin, Greek, and history, but is now able to devote all his time to the East, and especially Egypt; is a widower, and his children are in the care of his mother, which enables him to devote twelve hours daily to study; his book [*EE*, vol. I] is made up of previously published memoirs; the duty of Egyptologists is to interest the public—Ebers has done more for Egyptology by his stories than Lepsius by his scientific memoirs.

¹ These two novels, both by Amelia Edwards, were published in 1864 and 1869 respectively.

² *A Poetry Book of Elder Poets* and *A Poetry Book of Modern Poets*, both published in 1879, collected and edited by E.

9. *Paris, 1879, Nov. 17*

Mariette's brother in London;¹ interpretation of a passage of Herodotus on the Pyramids [II, 125; this had been already published in 1875, see *EM* III, 416]; the contents of the next part of *EE* (fasc. II); has mentioned E.'s *Thousand Miles* in an article in the *Rev. historique* [1879, II, 128-60]; his love of birds; his courses of lectures about to recommence.

10. *Paris, 1880, Aug. 18*

Is overwhelmed with work; has to edit the *Rec. trav.* and to complete Mariette's *Abydos*, correcting the proofs of vol. III, as the author is too ill; his own work includes a memoir on burial customs [*J. as.* 1880 = *EE* I, 81-194], another on trilateral roots [*Mém. Soc. linguistique*, IV, 1881, 185-203]; others are the campaigns of Tuthmosis III at Megiddo [*Rec. trav.* II, 1880, 48-56, 139-50 = *EM* IV, 203-40], the conquests of Sheshonk [*ZÄS* XVIII, 1880, 44-9 = *EM* V, 48-58]; at the end of term paid a visit to Italy and copied many texts in Turin Museum; intends to visit British and other European museums; is planning a great History of Egypt, for which his previously published memoirs are all preparatory studies; details of the scheme—not only a history but an account of customs and beliefs; thanks E. for her review of his work [*EE* I, fasc. I], but it is only a part of a larger volume; his movements.

11. *Paris, 1880, Dec. 26*

Has made a long stay in Italy; a new epoch in his career caused by the decision of the French Govt. to establish a School of Archaeology in Egypt; the project delayed through delicacy towards Mariette, but he is now seriously ill and wants help to continue his researches in Old Kingdom sites; has been asked by Minister of Public Instruction to select suitable personnel from his former pupils; has selected three, and an architect; these events will delay the progress of his History; suspicion of foreigners who will construe his archaeological mission as a political one; is essentially a student, not a diplomat or a man of business; has already informed the Soc. of Bibl. Arch. of the project; will return to France for two or three months in summer; has found time to read the books sent by E.; criticisms thereon; his interest in the Tichbourne Case; his wife² will accompany him to Egypt, for which they will depart on Dec. 28; recollections of his youthful departure for South America.

12. *Boulaq, 1881, Mar. 20*

Thanks E. for her congratulations on his appointment as Director of Antiquities; still feels astonishment at the alteration in the course of his life caused by the appointment; sends extract from *Moniteur égyptien* giving an account of his excavations; his discovery of the Pyramid of Unas; will publish the texts as soon as possible; is starting on a tour of inspection in Upper Egypt, but will return to Sakḥārah; always hampered by lack of funds; designs to explore and open all the pyramids one by one from Abu Roāsh to the Fayyūm; thanks for offer of funds [by an English subscription]; his ideas differ widely from those of Mariette, but if discoveries are made it matters not by whom; has had to consult the Egyptian authorities before accepting funds, and has seen Riaz Pasha³ who has authorized him to accept; begs E. to proceed with negotiations to raise subscriptions;

¹ Alphonse Mariette, who published an English translation of his brother's *Itinéraire de la Haute Égypte*, under the title of *Monuments of Upper Egypt*, London, 1877.

² His second wife, Louise d'Estournelles Constant de Rebecque, whom he married in 1880.

³ Riaz Pasha, of Circassian origin, was born about 1835; of humble origin, he rose through his ability to considerable importance; he was a member of the Egyptian Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, 1878-9, and when Ismail dismissed the Cabinet and attempted to resume autocratic rule Riaz had to flee the country; when Ismail was deposed Riaz was sent for by the British and French controllers and formed the first ministry under the Khedive Tewfik; his administration, marked by much ability, lasted only two years, when it was overthrown by Arabi; in Sept. 1881 Riaz was dismissed and went to Geneva until the fall of Arabi; he was

the departure to Egypt has delayed all his publications; their progress and prospects; hopes E. will be able to revisit Egypt; his wife's enthusiasm in accompanying him in all his excavations.

Note by E.: 'Prof. Maspero's letter (March 20th 1881) replying to my *first* letter laying before him the same unconditional offer of help that we had made to Mariette.'

13. *Naples, 1881, June 8*

Is on his way to Paris; wishes to discuss E.'s plan for financial help for his excavations by an English subscription; delicacy of dealing with Egyptian Govt. where 'La forme domine tout'; discovery of a new pyramid, that of Teti; his excavations continuing in his absence.

14. *Paris, 1881, Aug. 4*

His wife's illness has delayed his return and made it impossible to meet his supporters in England; disorganization in excavations in Egypt during Mariette's illness; intends to devote all his funds and energies next year to Upper Egypt; intends to clear Medīnet Habu and the Dēr el-Baḥri area, and to survey the possibilities of Luxor; has sufficient money for this work, from which he will gain experience in excavating; intends to devote all means to the Delta in 1882-3; thinks that English subscribers will be most gratified by work on Biblical sites in the Delta, and intends to work at Tanis, Tell Basta, etc.; the funds provided by Govt. to be confined to work in the Nile valley, those by subscription to the Delta; desires E. to communicate these plans to the subscribers.

The great find at Dēr el-Baḥri; papyri and other objects have made him suspect an unknown tomb for ten years; list of the principal royal mummies found; transport of the objects to Būlāk by Émile Brugsch¹ and Ahmed Effendi.²

Is preparing for publication in *Rec. trav.* the texts from the Pyramid of Unas; is hurt more for Mariette's sake than his own by Birch's premature publication of the Pyramid of Pepi I [*PSBA*, Nov. 1880, 111-16]; considers Birch discourteous to rush into print with defective and incomplete copies of the texts; will send the second part of *EE*.

15. *Paris, 1881, Aug. 6*

Has business matters to settle in Paris, with a view to retaining his chair while in Egypt; unlikely to be able to attend Congress of Orientalists at Berlin; has already communicated his plans for those subscribing and for the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings; hopes E. will be able to send a young English Egyptologist to train under him, as he has already one Italian and two Germans.

16. *Paris [about 1881, Sept. 1]*

Will send an abstract of the communication intended for the Berlin Congress, which he will deliver in person if possible, but if unable to attend to be delivered by Lepsius.

afterwards Minister of the Interior under Sherif Pasha, but resigned in Dec. 1882; he then retired from public life until, on the fall of Nubar Pasha, he was summoned to form a government; his policy was that of co-operation with the British; he finally resigned in 1894 and died June 18, 1911. Lord Cromer paid high tribute to Riaz who had not shrunk from protesting against maladministration in Egypt.

¹ Émile was a younger brother of Dr. Heinrich Brugsch; he went to Egypt as assistant to his brother in his short-lived school of Egyptology in 1870; he was afterwards an assistant to Mariette; assistant conservator of the Cairo Museum under Maspero in 1881, and so remained under Maspero's successors until his retirement in 1914; he was made successively Bey and Pasha by the Khedive; retired to Nice in 1914, and died there soon afterwards. Brugsch was a skilful lithographer and prepared the plates for Mariette's publication of the *Papyrus de Boulaq*; he was also a good photographer, and most of the plates in the numerous volumes of the *Cairo Cat. gén.* are made from his negatives. He left behind him an evil reputation for his clandestine transactions with native antiquity-dealers, and for his intriguing and mischief-making habits. See below, No. 52.

² Ahmed Bey Kamal, born 1849; a pupil of Brugsch and assistant in the Cairo Museum; retired 1914; died Aug. 4, 1923.

17. *Courbevoie, 1881, Sept. 8*

Will be unable to attend the Berlin Congress as he is leaving for Egypt on Sept. 16; asks E. to publish a report of it in the *Academy* or *The Times* [*Sur la cachette découverte à Dér-el-Bahari, Abh. 5ten. Int. Orient. Congr. 11, 12-24*]; suggests that E. should counsel readers visiting Egypt to acquaint themselves with the cartouches of the kings discovered, as he is convinced that Abd er-Rassul and his associates before giving up the secret will have rifled the tomb again and will put other objects from it on the market; desires to account for as much of the find as possible for publication, and will be glad of information as to any objects in private possession; long and severe criticism of the Histories of Rawlinson¹ and [Dr. H.] Brugsch; Rawlinson, a disciple of Brugsch, ignores de Rougé and other French savants [George Rawlinson, *History of Egypt*, 2 vols., London, 1881]; misleading the public.

18. *Boulaq, 1881, Oct. 12*

Thanks E. for her two articles [*The Archaeological Discovery at Thebes, Academy*, Aug. 13 and 21, 1881]; is ready to send the photographs of the mummies asked for except that of Tuthmosis III, owing to its damaged condition; is about to publish all the photographs with descriptive text, and cannot give Harper² exclusive rights [E.'s article, for which the photographs were required, *Lying in State in Cairo* was published in *Harper's Monthly Mag.*, July 1882]; list of photographs he is sending, eight in number [all were published in *La Trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari, Vingt photographies par E. Brugsch . . . texte par G. Maspero, Cairo, 1881*]; the profits of the publication will be given to Brugsch, and Harper should make his arrangements with Brugsch; a high Nile; Meidūm is flooded, but excavations are proceeding at Zāwiyet el-'Aryān; indications of a second cache at Thebes, but its site not yet known.

19. *Boulaq, 1881, Oct. 22*

Has just recovered from an attack of dysentery; approves E.'s prospectus [for the projected Egypt Expl. Fund] and consents to including his name as a supporter; Birch has not always been courteous towards him, but as he is an old man and has done good service to science he feels no offence; thanks E. for articles in the *Academy* and *The Times* and for *PSBA*; Birch is not acquainted with one-sixth of the texts of the Pyramid of Pepi, and that which he has is ill-copied; is about to publish the texts in *Rec. trav.*, and a comparison of his texts with Birch's will show the inaccuracy of the latter; discussion of Queen Nedjme; asks for copy of a stela of Neskmons; the exhibition of the Royal Mummies, with plan of the room; asks what steps Harper is taking in regard to the photographs he sent; a breakdown of his steamer has delayed his explorations at Thebes.

20. *Boulaq, 1881, Dec. 2*

Thanks E. for various numbers of *The Academy* and is much affected by her generous references to him; Sir Erasmus Wilson³ has sent him a copy of his History, and thinks it will do much to

¹ The Rev. George Rawlinson, born 1812; Trin. Coll. Oxford, B.A. 1838, M.A. 1841; Fellow of Exeter Coll.; Camden Professor of Ancient History, 1861-89; Canon of Canterbury, 1872; edited Herodotus and wrote many historical works on the nations of the Near East; assisted his brother Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, the pioneer of Assyriology; died Oct. 6, 1902.

² The well-known American publishing-house founded by James Harper (1795-1869).

³ Sir William James Erasmus Wilson, F.R.C.S., F.R.S. (1809-84), was a surgeon by profession; born Nov. 25, 1809; studied at St. Bartholomew's Hospital and was Demonstrator of Anatomy at University Coll., London; Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology at Middlesex Hospital; founded a Professorship of Dermatology at the Royal Coll. Surgeons, 1869; presented many specimens to the R.C.S. Museum; M.R.C.S. 1831; F.R.C.S. 1843; F.R.S. 1845; P.R.C.S. 1881; knighted, 1881. He was much interested in Egypt and in 1877 undertook to pay the expenses of bringing Cleopatra's Needle to London; in 1887 published *The Egypt of the Past*; died at Westgate-on-Sea, Aug. 8, 1884. Wilson greatly assisted Miss Edwards financially and otherwise in the foundation of the Egypt Expl. Fund.

popularize interest in Egypt; has sent a signed copy of his programme; the report on Dēr el-Bahri [see above, No. 17] is printed and he sends the text, but the printing and mounting of the photographs takes much time, and the text alone is sufficient for a review; answers E.'s questions (8) on the Royal Mummies; Pettigrew's *History of Egyptian Mummies*, 1834, is still the best account of mummification; his wife's poor health; she will accompany him to Upper Egypt.

21. *Ouasta*, 1881, Dec. 16

The Pyramid of Meidūm has been opened; description and sketch; detailed description of the interior; the hieratic graffiti; extreme heat and suffocation in the interior makes work difficult and painful; will report further progress; fears that Karnak has suffered by inundation and must make an examination; will write to Poole;¹ is setting out to copy the texts in the pyramid of Pepi II.

22. *Boulaq*, 1882, Jan. 5

Acknowledges two letters; a family bereavement [death of his mother-in-law], and its effect on his wife; progress of the work of fitting-up and arranging the museum; funds insufficient to equip his own residence; risk of fire from adjoining premises; financial help by French Govt.; having no house, he and his wife live in the Museum steamboat; excavations have been recommenced, those at Lisht being most promising; the pyramid appears not to have been violated in antiquity.

23. *Louxor*, 1882, Mar. 12

Has been spending a wandering life, inspecting Upper Egypt site by site; has found VIth Dyn. tombs at Nakādah, a M.K. cemetery at Er-Rizeikāt near Erment, and ruins of XIIth Dyn. at Eṭ-Ṭōd; the tombs of Hieraconpolis have supplied some new inscriptions, and Kōm Mereh a temple of Vespasian; has brought away many stelae and other objects; has begun work on a small pyramid at El-Kula, but had to abandon it for lack of workmen and appliances, and wishes the discovery to be kept secret meanwhile; at Thebes has discovered several new tombs, two of them royal, and some with duplicate texts of the pyramid of Unas; has cleared the northern façade of the Pylon of Horus at Karnak where Champollion indicated inscriptions of Pinodjem, and has found a long inscription which Naville will publish [Naville, *Inscr. historique de Pinodjem III*, Paris, 1883]; has also found there a marriage contract of Isiemkheb, showing her relationship to Neskhons and others [cf. *Momies royales*, 702 ff.]; hieratic graffiti in the Royal Mummies tomb [cf. op. cit. 520 ff.]; the clearing of Luxor is proceeding; work at the Pyramid of Meidūm suspended, but will be resumed; work at Dahshūr and Zāwiyet el-'Aryān is continuing, but the workmen will soon be transferred to Lisht; completion of the new galleries of the museum; is sending some less important objects to Alexandria, where a museum is to be established.

Is much encouraged by E.'s news of subscriptions, Tanis and the Delta will afford plenty of surprises; has read the reviews in the *Saturday Review*, and several in French journals, of his book [*Les Contes populaires*, 1st ed. 1882]; is gratified with the success of the book, the preparation of which was a great pleasure, as the subject fascinated him; has resumed work on the love-songs, and will soon publish them in the *J. as.* [= *EE* 1, 217-59]; has been suffering from lumbago.

¹ Reginald Stuart Poole (1832-95) studied oriental archaeology from his youth; entered the service of the Brit. Museum, 1852; appointed Keeper of the Dept. of Coins and Medals, 1870, on the retirement of W. S. W. Vaux; retired 1893; published a number of books and papers on Egypt; his books include *Horae Aegyptiacae*, 1851, and *The Cities of Egypt*, 1882; vindicated Champollion's method of decipherment attacked by Sir G. Cornwall Lewis (*Archaeologia*, xxxix, 1863, 471-82); an active collaborator with Miss Edwards in the founding of the Egypt Expl. Fund, his obituary of her in *The Academy* was reprinted in the Society's fifth Annual Report.

24. *Boulaq, 1882, Apl. 14*

Acknowledges letters from E. and Poole; Sayce¹ has misunderstood him as to the law relating to antiquities; in principle all that is found in Egypt belongs to Egypt, but he hopes the Egyptian Govt., in order to recognize and show appreciation of foreign subscribers, will allow selected monuments to be presented to them *en don gracieux*.

25. *Boulaq, 1882, Apl. 15*

[Copy, in E.'s handwriting, of a letter by M. The person addressed is not named, but it can be none other than R. S. Poole. The letter is so important for the light it throws on conditions in Egypt when the *Egypt Expl. Fund* was inaugurated, that I give a translation of it in full.]

Dear Sir,—The intervention of M. Schliemann² appears to me to be unfortunate from every point of view. Without speaking of many of the scientific reasons which make me distrustful in this respect, the circumstances in the midst of which we are obliged to act impose upon us the greatest prudence in the choice of the persons you should employ in Egypt.

The Minister for the time being and the Khedive are always actuated by the same sentiments as the previous minister held, but national vanity—if the word national means anything in Egypt—has been violently excited by recent events. It is taken for granted that Egypt is the premier country of the world, the mother of civilization both ancient and modern, and that foreigners in spending money for the benefit of the Egyptian Government are doing no more than to render due homage to Egypt's superiority: the money is accepted as an act of grace, nothing more. You will appreciate then that, holding such views, the minister in office and those who will succeed him have sensitive skins. An imprudent word, a slip in the manner of presenting the case, might frustrate everything at the last moment. M. Schliemann, amongst his other virtues, has not that of discretion. He loves publicity and controversial newspaper articles, and never lets an opportunity slip of speaking of himself. You will remember his quarrels with the Porte as to his excavations of Troy. It is not the moment to risk a similar state of affairs in Egypt: at the slightest difficulty we should receive the order to suspend everything, and everything would indeed have to be suspended, and at least the English Government would be very reluctant to stir up diplomatic difficulties over excavations directed by a German, such as Schliemann, and a Frenchman, who would be myself.

I therefore absolutely reject M. Schliemann, and allow me to tell you how I have conceived the plan of our work. In brief our situation is thus: to begin work quietly in such a manner as not to provoke the jealous attentions of the ministers in office, then to show some results which will prove to those ministers that the treaty of agreement is really advantageous to Egypt, besides assuring to English science the honour which is its due from such an enterprise. To reassure the Egyptian Government it is necessary (at least at first) that the Society should appear to cede the sole direction to Egyptian officials. That is why I have it in mind to request from England someone whose name has not yet acquired the notoriety of that of M. Schliemann, and who consequently will be able to work from the beginning under the direction of the Service des Antiquités. I do not know by what mischance England has not yet produced a young Egyptologist: the school is dying out without renewing itself. I have therefore thought of asking you for a young man who has made proficient classical studies, who is interested in the history and languages of the East, and who, with a little goodwill, could soon become something of an Egyptologist. I should then be able to give him some teaching—(you know that I am a professor and that I am fond of my calling)—both in books and upon the actual monuments, to make him conversant with our work, and after having kept him for a year, more or less, to hand over to him, little by little, the effective control and then

¹ The Rev. Prof. Archibald Henry Sayce, for an account of whom see *JEA* xix, 65.

² Dr. Heinrich Schliemann; born 1822; travelled much in Greece and Asia Minor, and excavated many sites; died at Naples, Dec. 25, 1890.

the publication of the monuments. He would receive such remuneration as you will yourselves fix out of the society's funds. The Egyptian Government would not take umbrage at a young man, and once accustomed to see him working with me would no longer have any objection to letting him excavate alone, just as they are content to-day to see the pupils of the French school that I brought with me to Cairo actually engaged in excavation.

As to the results of the excavations, I already have them. A month or two after work has begun I have only to transport to Boulaq the seven or eight Middle-Kingdom statues which we have at San. In seeing them arrive the ministers will realize that the monuments discovered are sent to the government, and this first consignment will for a long time relieve us of having to make deliveries of monuments.

You will understand that I do not want to expend your money in filling our galleries: I want it only in the service of the advancement of science above all things, and once proof has been given that the monuments do indeed belong to Egypt, we will seek to discover the greatest number possible of historical inscriptions or monuments which can be left *in situ* without the fear of seeing them disappear.

You will see now how matters stand. I desire that England, which is making a disinterested sacrifice of its money, should come step by step to take over the real direction of the enterprise, and for my part I will do all I can as a teacher to make an Egyptologist as director of the excavations, leaving to him little by little the superintendence and the direction of the work as soon as I can do so without awaking the susceptibilities of the government and without hindrance to the progress of the excavations.

Make what use you think proper of my letter, save only in such a manner as might create difficulties *here*: for my opinion of M. Schliemann is like M. Schliemann himself, and I will repeat it if occasion arises. Here patience is necessary, and above all discretion. Miss Edwards sent me your writings¹ last year.

I thank you for the kind manner in which you have spoken of my memoir on funerary scenes.² I have learned much since I came here, and I hope to make a supplement to it if I have time. Meanwhile I am correcting the proofs of our pyramid texts: perhaps in a month you may have half [of those] of the Pyramid of Ounas.—Agree, Sir, etc. G. MASPERO.

26. *Paris, 1882, Sept. 5*

His return journey to Paris delayed by his wife's illness; before leaving Cairo was engaged in arranging the new rooms in the museum; the Salle Funéraire finished, but not the Graeco-Roman room; work delayed again by the call of his employees for military service; European shops were closed, and there was much difficulty in obtaining meat and other supplies; disorganization of the postal service; departure of foreign consuls; was ordered officially by the Minister of Public Instruction to quit the museum and to repatriate the school [i.e. the Mission Archéologique]; has done everything possible to safeguard the museum; excavations had to be abandoned almost as soon as they began; the northern Pyramid of Lisht has been opened; fragments found show that the texts have been much mutilated by treasure-seekers; has found evidence that these pyramids belong to the XIIth Dyn.; hopes to return to Egypt; if the English Govt. will allow him to remain at the head of the service the French will not object to his remaining some years more in the service of the Egyptian Govt.; in any case, he will return for a short time to reorganize the French school; in such uncertainty he cannot take up the subject of the new society [Egypt Expl. Fund] or write to Poole; if current events do not prevent the establishment of the society, now is the time to settle all the details, otherwise the campaign of 1882-3 might be compromised and not ready to start in time; in crossing the Delta in his 'flight', he found a *tell* with Assyrian monuments executed in

¹ His book, *The Cities of Egypt*, then recently published.

² *EE* I, 81-194.

Egyptian stone and will make it known to the excavators; thanks E. for her articles and constant friendship; although unknown personally to many of her supporters, he is grateful for their help; has many good friends in England, as in France; asks for copies of the texts inscribed on any articles known to her which come from the royal cache; will print her article in *Rec. trav.*¹ in English.

27. *Boulaq, 1882, Nov. 21*

Change in the attitude of Dr. Birch; Petrie has applied for permission to examine the orientation of the Pyramids; permission granted subject to Egyptian law; is always ready to grant facilities for scientific work; acknowledges copies of stelae and of the Papyrus Brocklehurst;² the name *Bagstones* cited by E. in an article in the *Academy* reveals to him that Miss B. was E.'s fellow traveller;³ took E.'s book with him on his journey and was much struck with the fidelity of the descriptions; intends his friend Rhoné to read it on his next journey;⁴ is about to start, and will have, besides his wife, Wilbour, Gabriel Charms,⁵ and '2,000 volumes of all kinds from Rabelais and Montaigne to Brugsch and Lepsius'; his wife's health; believes there are two inviolate pyramids, one at Zāwīyet el-'Aryān, the other at Dahshūr; his report is printed, and he will send a proof for review; intends to visit the Delta in Apl. and decide the site of his headquarters; excavation impossible before Dec. owing to the inundation; has almost doubled the extent of the museum (sketch-plan); hopes E. will visit Egypt.

28. *Louxor, 1883, Mar. 16*

Work at Thebes almost finished; a Coptic cemetery at Aswān; others at Karnak and Coptus; the Coptic church in the tomb of Sebk-ṯ; graffiti in Syriac; the tomb of Ḥarḥotpe and others of the Middle Kingdom; New Kingdom tombs; mummies with Greek inscriptions; the tomb of Ḥarḥotpe is being dismantled for re-erection in the museum; his budget now exhausted; wilful damage to the sarcophagus of Ai; has received R. S. Poole's book and has read it with interest; E.'s friends [Miss Brocklehurst and Miss Booth] have seen the new tombs and intend to return next year; Naville's success [his first campaign for the Egypt Expl. Fund]; hopes he will give publicity to his discoveries; success brings more success; sends a photograph of himself by Emil Brugsch while at work in the museum.

29. *Boulaq, 1883, June 26*

Thanks E. for sending Russell's book mentioning the sarcophagus of Nitocris, which he rediscovered last year;⁶ the museum is nearly finished, but work is delayed by lack of funds; is returning

¹ On antiquities from the royal cache at Dēr el-Baḥri, *Rec. trav.* iv, 79-87.

² The hieratic funerary papyrus of Djedptaḥef'onkh from the royal cache. It was bought by Miss Marianne Brocklehurst from Abd er-Rassul in 1874, before the secret of the hiding-place was revealed. Miss Brocklehurst made her journey up the Nile in her dahabiyeh *Bagstones* at the same time as Miss Edwards was travelling in the *Philæ* in 1874. She is frequently referred to in the *Thousand Miles* as 'M. B.'

³ Miss Brocklehurst named her dahabiyeh after her own residence, Bagstone Grange, Swythamley, Staffordshire. She visited Egypt again in the winters of 1882-3 and 1890-1 with a letter of introduction to Maspero (*Wilbour Letters*, 235, 586). On these three journeys she acquired a considerable number of Egyptian antiquities. She died Oct. 22, 1898. Her relative, Major J. Dent-Brocklehurst of Sudeley Castle, Winchcombe, informs me that one of her papyri (that called *Ax* in Naville's *Todtenbuch*) is still at Sudeley, and that the rest of her collections went to the Macclesfield Museum, the latter fact being also confirmed by Miss Emily Paterson, who knew Miss Brocklehurst. Presumably the hieratic papyrus abovementioned is there also, but two prepaid inquiries which I made of the curator of the museum produced no reply.

⁴ Arthur Rhoné, born 1836, was a friend and companion of Mariette; he accompanied Maspero in 1881 and in several subsequent years; frequently mentioned in *Wilbour Letters*; his book *L'Égypte à petites journées* (1877) was very popular; died June 7, 1910.

⁵ Gabriel Charms, born 1850; journalist and author; one of his books, published in Paris in 1881, was translated into English by William Conn, *Five Months at Cairo and in Lower Egypt*, London, 1883; died 1886.

⁶ Russell, (Sir) William Howard, *The Prince of Wales's Tour: A Diary in India, . . . Greece, Egypt . . .*

to Europe from July to Oct.; much fatigued by incessant work; the labour of preparing the museum catalogue [*Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*]; field work is suspended; Lisht seems to be intact; has found there some canopic jars and geese of alabaster; this to be kept secret, otherwise some influential pasha may forestall him and ruin everything; has discovered the sarcophagus of Psammetichus II, which will be taken to the museum; sends another photograph of himself as 'a civilized man'; has secured two monuments from Tell el Maskhūta for the Society [Egypt. Expl. Fund] (and has informed Poole), which can be removed at any time; hopes this will encourage subscribers.

30. *Paris, 1883, Aug. 23*

Has been very ill; after finishing field work in Upper Egypt, spent three weeks in the pyramids of Saqqārah [copying pyramid texts]; labour of preparing the catalogue; every object has to be classified, measured, and described; works at catalogue from 8 a.m. till 5 p.m.; has no assistance, as Vassalli is now too old, and Brugsch is nothing but a photographer; this work occupied two and a half months in excessive heat and wore him out; illness of his wife; has had angina pectoris, but is recovering in the better climate of France; Vassalli¹ is retiring, and has been replaced by Bouriant,² who is an Egyptologist; thanks E. for 500 frs. and asks her to convey his thanks to the subscribers; advice as to how to remit money, his brother³ is in the Bank of Egypt and can attend to it without expense; owing to his and his wife's poor health, does not intend to attend the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden, although he would like to be agreeable to Leemans and Pleyte; a scandal concerning Revillout and his brother; thanks E. for her article in *The Portfolio* [*The Portrait-Sculpture of the Ancient Egyptians*, Aug. 1883]; has become an art-critic by contributing to his friend Olivier Rayet's *Monuments de l'art antique*; his theory of the *double*, claimed by Renouf, but does not trouble himself about priorities; his readers in England; is preparing a new edition of his *Histoire* incorporating the latest discoveries; regrets at Sir Erasmus Wilson's failing sight; pleased to hear of the progress of the Society [Egypt Expl. Fund]; asks E. to make it clear that permission to excavate in Egypt is an act of grace on the part of the Govt. and some flattery of the Khedive would be helpful; permission for Naville to excavate for the Fund, was applied for and not refused, but there was much official finesse and obstruction; was reprimanded by the Khedive, but stood up to him and the ministers and carried his point; official obstruction to the gift of monuments [see above, No. 29]; the greatest patience and tact is necessary; it has been agreed that this year he has authorized excavations at Tanis; unhealthy climate of Tanis; recommends not beginning work there before Jan. 1884; his catalogue of the museum has begun printing; hopes on his return to Egypt to resume work on it which was interrupted by illness; is a candidate for election to the Académie.

31. *Paris [1883] Sept. 4*

[*From Mme Maspero.*] Regrets at not being able to go to Leyden; the British Museum and Leyden are very tempting to her husband; her health much deteriorated since living in Egypt; sends her photograph.


2 vols., London, 1877. This massive sarcophagus was raised from a deep tomb-shaft behind the Temple of Dēr el-Medīnah in 1885 and transported to the Cairo Museum (cf. *EM* 1, 184); *Wilbour Letters*, 145, 194, 208.

¹ Luigi Vassalli-Bey, born 1812 at Milan, had an adventurous career in his earlier years, being twice a political exile; he joined Mariette as assistant in 1859 and was for twenty-five years an assistant in the Būlāk Museum; on his retirement he lived in Rome, where he died in 1887. There is a short notice of him by H. Brugsch in *Z.ÄS* xxv, 1887, p. 111.

² Urbain Bouriant, born 1849; was a pupil in Maspero's classes in Paris; joined the French Archaeological Mission in Cairo, 1881-3; assistant conservator of Būlāk Museum, 1883-6; director of the Mission, 1886-98; he returned to Europe in failing health; his published works are mostly on Coptic subjects; died of apoplexy, June 19, 1903. There is a short notice of him and a list of his works in *Rec. trav.* xxvi, 29-32.

³ Hervé Bazil, Maspero's half-brother, born in 1856. Maspero's mother married a second time a few years after his father's death.

32. *Paris, 1883, Sept. 4*

Explanation of the signs in a cartouche, which he proposes to emend; the title  and his studies thereon in *Rec. trav.*; believes E.'s fragment to come from a coffin on which is a scene of adoration before Amenophis I; thanks E. for a parcel of 20 books; hopes to finish his work in Egypt before the tourists arrive; the printing of the catalogue [*Guide du Visiteur*] is proceeding; is a candidate for the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, for the vacancy caused by the death of the Arabic scholar Defrémery;¹ the five sections of the Academy make up collectively the Institut de France; Poole a Corresponding Member of the Académie des Inscriptions; thanks E. for her *Portfolio* articles [on portrait-sculpture, Aug. and Sept. 1883]; his articles in the *Monuments [de l'art antique]*; the work is costly, and he has no copies of it, but will send proofs; his commentaries on Herodotus; awaits Sayce's promised work on Herodotus; hopes that Sayce will not serve him as Wiedemann² did in quoting him without acknowledgement; has known Sayce since 1870 and has always had a good opinion of him.

33. *Paris, 1883, Nov. 19*

Sayce's book [*Ancient Empires of the East*] has arrived; considers the treatment of Egypt meagre but well written; found the treatment of Assyria most interesting and that of Lydia quite new; thinks Sayce exaggerates the role of the Hittites; intends to prepare an article on Herodotus, calling the attention of University Professors to his importance; has sent on E.'s proposals to Rayet, who has in turn passed them on to his publisher [? for an English translation of the *Mon. de l'Art*, or for the supply of copies for review]; has sent in proof as much of the catalogue as is ready; the difficulties of producing it; has drawn up 5,000 slips describing more than 10,000 objects, and had no help except that of Brugsch and Bouriant for the last 500; hopes to have it ready in time for the tourists in Jan.; is starting for Egypt on Nov. 26 or 27; anxiety at leaving his wife, who expects a child in Dec.; hopes E. will revisit Egypt.

34. *Paris, 1883, Dec. 25*

Gives permission for Sir Erasmus Wilson to use his plan of the Pyramids; regrets he cannot procure any *tirages-à-part* of E.'s article in *Rec. trav.* [iv, 79-87]; his wife having met with an accident, he is detained in Paris; the catalogue [*Guide du Visiteur*] is proceeding well; hopes to have it on sale in January.

35. *Boulaq, 1884, Jan. 25*

Has finished the catalogue; the new Graeco-Byzantine gallery; has received E.'s notices of the *Guide* in the *Academy* and *The Times*; the preparation of a catalogue a most arduous and thankless task; its arrangement and scope; his companions in his tour of Upper Egypt—Gabriel Charmes, the painter Landelle and his son, an old schoolfellow, and an American named Wilbour, 'le plus aimablement yankee que je connais';³ the most mixed parties can live harmoniously on the Nile; the contrast of ancient and modern civilization; E.'s regrets at not being able to read hieroglyphics, but he assures her that a year's study with a little help will achieve her purpose; his own system of

¹ Charles François Defrémery, born at Cambrai, 1822; a pupil of the celebrated Arabist Caussin de Perceval; in 1869 was appointed by the Académie to edit with De Slane, in succession to Laborde, the works of the Arabic historians of the Crusades; in 1868 he succeeded Caussin de Perceval, to whom he had long been an assistant, at the Collège de France, but he soon had to retire through ill health; died Aug. 19, 1883. See *J. as.*, Ser. 8, iv, 27-9.

² Wiedemann's *Herodots Zweites Buch* bears the date 1890 on its title-page, but it was issued in parts the first of which had already appeared in 1883. Sayce's book is *The Ancient Empires of the East, Herodotus I-III* 1883, which is mainly an attempt to prove the unvaracity of Herodotus.

³ See *Wilbour Letters*, 259 ff. Wilbour makes no mention of Landelle.

transliteration; defects in Revillout's¹ scholarship; considers it a duty to read all that Revillout publishes, with a mixture of impatience and admiration; Revillout has an ill-adjusted brain, but he is a considerable exponent of facts and ideas; appreciation of E.'s kindly attentions to his wife.

36. *Malagny, 1884, Jan. 28*

[From Mme Naville.]² Thanks E. for the gift of her book of ballads;³ the memoir on Pithom is finished and has been sent to Poole; it was delayed by the plates; appreciation of the ballads; Naville sends his compliments; he is busily engaged on his edition of the Book of the Dead [*Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, pub. in 1886].

37. *Bédrechein, 1884, Apl. 7*

Is on his return from a fruitful journey; Thebes has provided many objects for the museum and all along the Nile objects have been found to enrich the galleries; has found an intact Ptolemaic cemetery at Akhmīm; he himself saw only five pits and these alone contained about 120 mummies, and there are very many more in the area; he estimates the total number of mummies at 6,000 or more; Saqqārah and Dahshūr gave good results also; has found a tomb *temp.* Pepi I which has not been violated, but the roof had collapsed upon the chamber beneath and had smashed the objects within it; the mummy and its wooden coffin were in fragments, but a second coffin, also a white stone sarcophagus not yet opened, were intact; the wooden coffin is covered with pictures and hieratic texts, most of which are legible; five out of seven model boats were in good condition;⁴ has opened about twenty mastabas, some transitional between the Old and Middle Kingdoms; is working this locality until the level of the Nile permits completing the opening of the Pyramids of Lisht; a confusion between the Palestine and Egypt Expl. Funds; in correcting the error of the press E. may take the opportunity of making an appeal for her society; subscriptions from France and England; has followed the advice of Moncrieff⁵ in the manner of employing the funds subscribed; the Egyptian Govt. has allowed 60,000 frs. for work next winter on Luxor, Medīnet Habu, and Karnak; wishes E. could join the party in his boat next winter; intends to leave Cairo at the end of Oct., and to reach Thebes in mid-Dec., when work will be put in hand for a month until he proceeds to Aswān at the end of Jan.; will return to Thebes and stay there during Feb. and Mar., and return downstream in Mar. and Apl.; his party will include Wilbour, Gabriel Charmes, perhaps also Bouriant, Vassalli, and the Renans, but these are doubtful; cannot say whether he will be able to carry out this plan, or whether circumstances will arise to upset it, as so often in Egypt; illness of his wife, but the child⁶ is making good progress.

¹ Charles Eugène Revillout; born 1843; studied Coptic and in 1876 took up Demotic; founded *Rev. égyptologique* in 1880, the greater part of which was written by himself; he was for some time Conservateur-adjoint of the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre; died in Paris, Jan. 16, 1912. See H. Sottas, *Rev. ég.*, N.S. 1, 101-3.

² Marguerite, daughter of Count Alexandre de Pourtales. She married Edouard Naville in 1878. Mme Naville prepared the plates for all her husband's publications.

³ *Ballads*, collected and edited by E., and published in 1865.

⁴ This is the tomb described in *Trois Années de Fouilles*, 208 ff.

⁵ Sir Colin Campbell Scott-Moncrieff (1836-1916) was Under-secretary of State for Public Works, Cairo, 1883-92.

⁶ Henri Maspero, afterwards a well-known Sinologist. He was as eminent in Chinese history, religion, science, and literature as his distinguished father was in the corresponding fields of Egyptology. He and his wife were deported by the Germans in July 1944. They were taken because the Germans were unable to find their eldest son who was very active in the Resistance Movement, and who himself died fighting in the Vosges in the ranks of the American army. Madame Maspero was imprisoned at Ravensbrück, and her husband in the infamous concentration camp at Buchenwald, where he succumbed to brutal treatment aggravated by dysentery, Mar. 15, 1945.

38. *Paris, 1884, Aug. 25*

Death of Sir Erasmus Wilson; has sent proofs of seven sheets of the new edition of his *Histoire Ancienne*, and others will follow; is overwhelmed with work as the book must be printed by the end of Sept.;¹ the portion already sent will indicate what great changes it has been necessary to make; the chapter on religion is almost all new; would prefer to rewrite the book entirely to the labour of revising a former edition; hopes to finish the report on his mission to Italy,² the results of which are embodied in the *Histoire*; vigorous progress of his baby.

39. *Paris, 1884, Oct. 8*

Is leaving for Egypt on the morrow; deaths of five old friends; begins to feel old when he sees so many of his own generation pass away; sends further sheets of the new edition of his *Histoire*; has decided to print several hundred further copies of the last edition [3rd], so as to give him time to prepare the new edition at leisure; hopes to have it published by Apr. 1884 [*sic. lege* 1885]; the new edition will make a book of 700–800 pages, with several chapters entirely new; has sent proofs of a paper which will appear in the *Mémoires* of the French School [*Trois Années de Fouilles, Mém. Miss. Arch.* 1, fasc. 2 (1884), 133–242]; has ordered Leroux to send a copy when published; hopes to work at Medinet Habu with the funds collected by Moncrieff [*Postscript by Mme Maspero*].

40. *Boulaq, 1884, Nov. 16*

Thanks E. for her articles; is quite indifferent to hostile criticism but is much touched by her praise; is attracted by her proposal to translate the *Histoire Ancienne*, and would be delighted to have a translator who would not spoil the original, but the decision would not rest with him, but with the publishers, Hachette, who have sole power to authorize or refuse translations; if agreeable, he would lay the proposition before M. Bréton, the head of the house; points out an error in E.'s article; a statement quoted as his is really of Lenormant; his book [*Hist. Anc.*] has not been well received in England; many readers are shocked at the manner in which the history of the Jews is therein treated; the Jews are always held to be the premier race, and readers are offended at seeing them play a secondary part amongst many other nations; he began to study at the age of 17; the chaplain of the Lycée in which he completed his classical studies found him one day poring over the *Grammaire* of Champollion: in astonishment the chaplain asked if he intended to pursue the study, to which he replied that he intended to disentangle the history of antiquity; the chaplain declared that it was a dangerous task, tending to contradict the doctrines which are taught as a divine history written by God himself, and would give offence to many people and disturb timorous consciences; he [M.] expressed his agreement with that opinion, but the chaplain added that it is better to write what one really believes and to sacrifice nothing one believes to be true; 'if your opinions are false, in ten years' time they will be forgotten, but if they are true be assured that means will be found of proving to you that they are in the Bible'; he has often found that the chaplain was right, but has never troubled himself whether his conception of history was orthodox or not, but has merely sought to express himself in such a manner as not to be discourteous; believes that the clearing of the temple of Luxor will begin this year; work will begin on the oldest part of the temple and the court behind the pylons; at Medinet Habu intends to expose the south wall; these works will be carried out with the funds raised by the *Journal des Débats*; the sum is 21,700 frs.; as there are few tourists, he intends to profit by the solitude to explore some little-known sites—Ihnāsyah el-Medīnah, Bahnasa, etc., and to finish the necropolis of Akhmīm; his baby makes good progress, and has seven teeth; his wife is accumulating provisions for the voyage.

¹ The new (4th) ed. did not actually appear until 1886; the 3rd ed. was published in 1878.

² *Rec. trav.* 11 (1880), 159–99; 111 (1882), 103–28; 14 (1883), 125–51. No further parts appear to have been issued.

41. *En route pour le Caire, 1885, Mar. 28*

[*From Mme Maspero.*] Is nearing Cairo after four months' absence; the boat is loaded with antiquities besides others in four vessels taken in tow; the great accession of monuments will necessitate the rearrangement of the museum; her husband has amassed a fine series of sarcophagi of granite and limestone; the extensive works carried out at Luxor have wearied him and he is much in need of rest, which he cannot take; sends photographs of Luxor showing its state before and after the operations; has not been able to obtain for E. a mummy's hand; the Arabs now break up mummies instead of attempting to dispose of them entire; her husband still at work on his *Histoire*.

[*Postscript by Maspero.*] Has sent to Moncrieff for *The Times* the same report of his work as that for the *Journal des Débats*; thinks an article illustrated with photographs would attract subscribers; has had a most successful season, and could do much more if he had funds.

42. *Boulaq, 1885, May 26*

Thanks E. for a present to his wife, as she is too ill to write herself; her illness serious, but hopes to be able to return to France in July; detailed account of the illness and its treatment; his own reactions to sickness; sends a draft of an article for the *Journal des Débats* on his explorations; Charmes and his opinion of Anglo-French co-operation in Egypt; his article can be published simultaneously in *The Times*.

43. *Paris, 1885, Aug. 11*

Acknowledges receipt of *The Times* and other English newspapers; his wife's health has been seriously affected by Egypt, and she must remain in France next winter; gives an account of his life and work [evidently in response to a request by E.]; was born June 23, 1846; his parents of Milanese family, with some Spanish blood; his education, military service, and professorships; his expatriation and sojourn in La Plata, 1867-8; was married in 1871, and a widower in 1873; his habits of work and aspirations.

44. *Paris, 1885, Sept. 11*

[*From Mme Maspero.*] Her husband intends to start for Egypt in mid-Oct.; she will remain in France; progress of her child Henri; thanks E. for kindly attentions.

[*Postscript by Maspero.*] Intends to leave for Egypt, Oct. 14; hopes to find his steamer ready at Būlāḡ as Moncrieff has done all he can to preserve it for his use; sends a photograph of himself taken last year; if E. thinks it would interest English readers of the *Academy*, the account she has written of his life is very accurate; personally he believes that in science the work is everything and the worker of no importance at all; truth goes into the common stock and is nameless, but error remains the property of the worker and ever bears his name.

45. *Boulaq, 1886, June 10*

As his wife is forbidden on medical grounds to return to Egypt, he has resigned and Grébaut¹ succeeds him as Director of the Antiquities Service; will return to France in July and resume his course at the Collège de France in Dec.; this is a serious step, but is inevitable; great regrets at leaving unfinished so many undertakings in Egypt; considers that Grébaut, formerly his pupil,

¹ Eugène Grébaut, born 1846; a pupil under Maspero at the École des Hautes Études; having obtained his diploma, he gave lectures at the École and at the Collège de France; in 1883 succeeded Lefébure as Director of the French Archaeological Mission in Cairo, and took up his duties at the end of 1884; in June 1886 succeeded Maspero as Director of the Ant. Service, a post he retained till 1892; he was not a good director, and often antagonized both Europeans and Egyptians; in 1892 became lecturer in ancient history in the Sorbonne until his death, Jan. 8, 1915. A notice of him by Maspero was published in the *Rev. arch.*, 4th series, xxiv (1915), 333. See also the frequent mentions of him in the *Wilbour Letters*, Budge's *By Nile and Tigris*, and Petrie's *Seventy Years in Archaeology*.

will carry on in all respects on the lines laid down by himself; he has the support of Scott-Moncrieff, of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff,¹ and of the French Consul-General, M. d'Aussay; Grébaut has asked that E. may be put in direct communication with him, and he will keep her informed of events in Egypt; sends his Report, 'a swan-song', and the accounts of the opening of the mummies of Ramesses II and III; the former has the nose of the Duke of Wellington, as General Stephenson,² who has seen both, affirms; has since uncovered the head of Sēknenrē and examined the wounds in it.

46. *Paris, 1886, Aug. 20*

Considers the cast of a royal head described by E. has the characteristics of the Saite period; it may be one of the two kings Nectanebo; is unable to go to Vienna [to the Internat. Congress of Orientalists]; hopes E. will call on him in Paris on her way; has taken a house, but his books have not yet arrived [from Cairo]; is resuming his courses at the Collège de France and the École des Hautes Études; one of his pupils, Virey,³ has written a memoir on the Papyrus Prisse, which will be sent as soon as published.

47. *Paris, 1886, Oct. 6*

Is much flattered by the compliment paid him by the Committee [of the Egypt Expl. Fund: election as Hon. Member]; the Vienna Congress; illness in his family; his book, of which he has already sent proofs to E., has finished printing and will appear at the end of the year [*Archéologie égyptienne*, 1887]; the publishers of his *Contes populaires* have granted rights of translation to Miss Maud Young; asks for information about her; she has already translated [Théophile Gautier's] *Roman de la Momie*; would have preferred to have the book translated by E.; will take the opportunity of revising the text.

48. *Paris, 1886, Nov. 2*

Encloses official letter of thanks to the Egypt Expl. Fund; has to prepare lectures on the Royal Mummies; thanks E. for her article in *Harper's Mag.* [*The Story of Tanis*, vol. 73, 1886, 710-38]; calls attention to two inaccuracies in it; has finished his *Arch. ég.*; much prefers writing scientific to popular books; encloses a letter from the widow of Sheldon Amos⁴ whom he knew in Egypt [proposing to translate his *Histoire Anc.*]; before replying would like to know whether E. had intended to make the same proposal.

49. *Paris, 1886, Nov. 30*

As his course at the Collège de France reopens early in Dec. regrets he cannot accept the invitation of the Committee [of the Egypt Expl. Fund] to pay a visit to England; is taking for his subject

¹ Sir Henry Drummond Charles Wolff, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., born 1830; entered the Foreign Office, 1846; served in many important services in various countries; he was sent to Egypt as British Commissioner to reorganize Egyptian administration in 1885-6; was afterwards British envoy to Persia; died Oct. 11, 1908.

² Sir Frederick Charles Arthur Stephenson, K.C.B., born 1821; served in the Crimean War; commanded the Army of Occupation in Egypt, 1883-5; died 1911.

³ Philippe Virey, born 1853; a pupil of Chabas and afterwards of Maspero; he joined the French Mission Archéologique and devoted himself to copying Theban tombs, many of which were published in the *Mémoires* of the Mission, but his standard of epigraphic accuracy was not of a high order; published a complete translation of the Prisse Papyrus in 1887, a popular book on Egyptian religion, and a number of shorter articles; published biographical notices of Chabas, Lefébure, and de Horrack in the collected editions of their works in the *Bibl. égyptologique*; after his return to Paris he lectured on Egyptology at the Institut Catholique there; he died in 1922.

⁴ Sheldon Amos (1835-86), a well-known jurist; he was judge of the Court of Appeal (Native Tribunals) in Egypt; he had previously been Professor of Jurisprudence at Univ. Coll., London.

the ancient religion as revealed by the Pyramid Texts; is very pleased that he will have E. as the translator [of his *Arch. ég.*].¹

50. *Paris, 1886, Dec. 5*

Sends proofs [of *Arch. ég.*]; the volume will be of about 300 pages, with nearly 300 small illustrations; the last chapter (on the industrial arts) will be of about 50 pages and 90 illustrations; with this information and the proofs she already has, E. can calculate how much time and labour the translation will involve; wishes to receive proofs of the English edition.

51. *Paris, 1887, Feb. 2*

Thanks for various newspaper articles; that in *St. James's Gazette* could only have been written by someone who had attended his course at the Collège de France this year; he had an English pupil, Col. Massy, and suggests that he may be the writer; acknowledges the Report of the Egypt Expl. Fund; his *Arch. ég.* will be on sale in a week or two, and he will send E. a copy; he could not make use of the various notes she sent as the text was already set up, but will use some of them in the next edition; cannot express an opinion as to whether or not E. should insert the name of Petrie as her collaborator in the English edition; has read the first edition of his *Pyramids [and Temples of Gizeh, 1883]*, but has not seen the second [1885]; is using it in his *Histoire* [vol. 1, *Les Origines*]; the chapter [of his *Arch. ég.*] on drawing and design contains much that is new, but is dissatisfied with that on jewellery, which is confused and ill-written; if there is a new edition will ask for more pages, which will not be easy without advancing the price of the book; family news.

52. *Paris, 1887, Apl. 9*

His course at the Collège de France is too technical to be epitomized; a summary of some of his doctrines will appear in two articles in the *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, of which he will send reprints as soon as they appear [xv, 159-88 and 263-315 = *EM* 1, 283-324 and 325-87]; inanimate objects have a 'double' and temples also, which the Greeks confounded with the Agathodaemon; his explanation of the 'doubles' of scarabs, figurines, etc.; Petrie's discovery of foundation-deposits he believes to be an analogous instance; the misunderstanding between the Egypt Expl. Fund and Scott-Moncrieff; if he is prejudiced against it it is due to Brugsch who always opposed everything he (Maspero) did; Petrie is the object of particular hatred by Brugsch, who always contested the award of antiquities to him;² he (Maspero) has forewarned Grébaut, but G. will have to use great discretion in dealing with Brugsch who is always with him; he (Maspero) does not know what Brugsch has been saying, as Moncrieff was always well disposed towards the Egypt Expl. Fund; having had to put up with Brugsch for six years, knows too well what kind of tactics he employs; has heard that Budge has been very tactless in his dealings with Grébaut,³ and all these things together may lead to unfortunate results; the foregoing is all confidential, but he will write immediately to Grébaut for his version of the affair; meanwhile to have patience is the only course; when in Egypt, to those who thought his methods were too slow he often said, 'The monuments have waited six thousand years, and they can very well wait another six months'; no doubt a satisfactory settlement can be reached if the arrival of Grébaut and Moncrieff in Europe is awaited; will do all possible to adjust matters, for doubtless Grébaut soon discovered the intrigues of Brugsch, but it will be more difficult to convince Moncrieff.

¹ The arrangement with Miss Young (see above, no. 47) evidently came to nothing, and the rights of translation were transferred to E. Her translation was published in 1887; 2nd ed., 1892; 3rd, 1895; the later English editions were translated by Agnes S. Johns.

² See Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (1931), 27, 72, 78, 168, 175.

³ For Budge's version of his dealings with Grébaut, see his *By Nile and Tigris* (1920), I, 132 ff.; II, 328. See also Petrie, *op. cit.*, 77, 88, 90, 106, 112, 121, 124, 134-6.

53. *Paris, 1887, Apl. 14*

Has written to Grébaut and must await his reply; Brugsch, who caused so much trouble to him when he was in Cairo, seems to continue on the same lines with Grébaut; it is well that the latter was forewarned; sends proof of his article on *Opening the Mouth*, which is a résumé of part of his course, presented in the form of a review of the works of Schiaparelli and Dümichen, who do not understand the texts they have published [*Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, xv, 159-88 = *EM* 1, 283-324]; the next article will be in the form of a review of Naville's *Todtenbuch* [*Rev.* xv, 266-316 = *EM* 1, 325-87]; a third article will be in the form of a review of Lefébure's publication of the Tomb of Seti I [*Rev.* xvii, 251-310, xviii, 1-67 = *EM* 11, 1-181]; these three articles will give his latest researches into the Egyptian ideas of the dead and the other world; his leading idea that Osiris is not a sun-god but simply a god of the dead he will reserve for another occasion; believes that the sun played a far less prominent part in Egyptian religion originally than is usually supposed; the pages of *Rec. trav.* are always open for unpublished monuments, and invites contributions by E.

54. *Paris, 1887, Apl. 29*

Returns proofs [of E.'s translation of *Arch. ég.*] with short notes on certain passages to be altered; is very pleased with the translation; acknowledges articles in the *Academy*; Griffith is still young, but he has the *feu sacré*; it is a pleasure to see the rise of a successor to Hincks, Goodwin, and Birch, as a support to Renouf, who is no longer young; thinks Griffith has the makings of a good Egyptologist.

55. *Paris, 1887, June 17*

Regrets delay in replying due to his preparations for going to Oxford to receive the degree of D.C.L.; an Egyptian chair,¹ probably from Kurnah; warns E. to beware of certain lions' heads; he saw many last year in ivory and wood, and all were false; the ivory was fresh and unctuous, and the wood from an Indian tree, quite fresh and sappy and not desiccated; he bought two as specimens and placed them in the collection of forged antiquities; some were acquired by the British Museum and considered genuine; recognizes from E.'s photographs heads of the same make; other forged antiquities—scarabs, shells with the cartouches of Tuthmosis III and kings of the XIIth Dyn.,² figurines, etc.; has read Kellogg's book [Alfred Hosea Kellogg, *Abraham, Joseph and Moses in Egypt*, New York, 1887]; a useless expenditure of labour and ingenuity; considers it as futile to reconcile the story of Exodus with the testimony of the monuments as it would be to harmonize the Phoenicia of Fénelon's *Télémaque* with what it appears to-day; Kellogg does not perceive that he can only attain his solution at the expense of modifying one or other of the data of the Bible; the Bible states that Moses passed 40 years at the court of the Pharaoh whose daughter had found him, then 40 years in the desert, returning to Egypt only when that Pharaoh was dead; a reign of 80 years at least is therefore postulated for a single king; as Ramesses II had reigned 67 years the Jewish and Early Christian historians, who knew the length of this reign, have thought that this Pharaoh must be the Pharaoh of 80 years' reign in the Bible, and naturally placed the Exodus under his son and successor Menephtah; this reasoning rests upon a modification of the Bible text and on the substitution of a reign of 80 years for one of 67; Kellogg has accepted his (Maspero's) hypothesis, without taking into account the factors which lead up to it, which we call a rough-and-ready compromise [*cote mal taillée*]; he (Maspero) holds the text of the Bible to be a human document, perhaps true at base, but of which the details are neither true nor even probable, and on this principle sought to find an explanation by ordinary human means; Kellogg, on the contrary, holding the text to be divine, believes that to seek a humanistic interpretation shows a lack of respect for the Bible, and is unable

¹ This is the chair of Queen Hatshepsut, which was acquired by Jesse Haworth and is described by E. in *Rec. trav.* x, 126, and the plate accompanying.

² As to these shells, see Winlock, *Griffith Studies*, 388.

to separate the reasons he (Maspero) has given from the result to which they lead; moreover, the author must always conciliate those who hold the faith in treating his materials, so as not to incur theological odium; Kellogg is always courteous and tolerant and it is a pleasure to have him as a contradictor; but, in regard to himself, Kellogg has made a great error in citing a passage from [Heinrich] Brugsch who attributes to him (Maspero) a monstrous absurdity; Brugsch alleges that Maspero stated that at the Battle of Kadesh Ramesses II, although only 10 years old, had sons fighting with him; explanation of Brugsch's error, which was adopted by Kellogg; Ramesses II at the Battle of Kadesh was at least 35 or 36 years of age, and with the early polygamous marriage customs of the Egyptians he could have had sons old enough to fight.

56. *Paris, 1887, Sept. 26*

Has remained in Paris during the absence of his family in Normandy, and has completed his memoir on the Royal Mummies; has received the first proofs of it; is now weary of the subject, but it has afforded the pretext for an examination of the XVIIIth, XXth, and XXIst Dyns. and the religious supremacy of Thebes; was surprised to find that much more is known of the subject than was formerly supposed; he feels that most of his conclusions are certain, but the future will decide; he has been struck once more by the fact that Egyptologists are bound to routine and how little they read of the material which occupies them; the work has been one of bibliographical as well as direct research; the whole is preparatory to his great History; sends his geographical lists of Judea [*EM* v, 59–85]; has delivered a discourse at the prize-giving of the Lycée Henri IV of which his eldest son is a pupil, and sends a copy of the brochure; comments on photographs sent by E.—a XIIth-Dyn. boundary-stele and a monument of Amenophis I; importance of the Liverpool papyri, especially those which relate to the subject of P. Abbott [*Mayer Papyri* A and B]; if E. can obtain photographs of them, offers to publish them in *Rec. trav.*; asks if Petrie's *Tanis*, pt. II, has appeared as he wishes to quote it in *Les Momies royales*.

57. *Marseille, 1887, Oct. 30*

Has been in Marseilles for a week and is staying another ten days, cataloguing the Egyptian Museum [*Cat. du Musée Ég. de Marseille*, Paris, 1889]; thanks Miss Brocklehurst for the photograph of her papyrus and for permission to publish it; his *Histoire* advances slowly; it will appear in weekly parts; it is a great work making 3,000 pages of print, and five volumes;¹ is now occupied with the chapters on religion, the materials for which have been published in part in his contributions to *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.*, of which others are to follow; will send proofs of *Les Momies royales* as soon as complete; his catalogue of the Marseilles Museum is the first Egyptological work for which he has received payment; has attempted to make it not only a catalogue but a handbook for general information; wishes E. success in her search for hieroglyphic texts in the provincial museums of England; is entering on the hardest months of the year (Nov.–Jan.) which are occupied by his professorial lectures and the affairs of scientific and official bodies; has almost finished the text of Mariette's *Monuments divers*;² this, and the completion of other works left unfinished by Mariette, have occupied him for eight years before his death and eight years after; Mariette's high qualities, as a man and as a savant, are not properly appreciated.

¹ This is an overestimate. It was completed in three volumes, with a total of about 2,500 pages. This work must not be confused with the smaller, one-volume, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient*, the 1st ed. of which appeared in 1875, and the 12th in 1917. The larger work has the title *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient classique*, the three vols. having respectively the sub-titles *Les Origines*, *Les premières mêlées des peuples*, and *Les Empires*. They were translated into English by Mrs. M. L. McClure (died 1918) under the titles *The Dawn of Civilization*, *The Struggle of the Nations*, and *The Passing of the Empires* respectively.

² The plates appeared in twenty-six parts between 1872 and 1881. The letterpress, by Maspero, was issued in 1889.

58. [*Paris, 1887* —]

Returns further corrected proofs [of the translation of *Arch. ég.*]; thanks for copies of her articles; irregular publication of the *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.*; the scenes on the pylons of Egyptian temples; treatment of captives; human sacrifice and anthropophagy; traces of it in the Pyramid Texts; the early Pharaohs had some similarity to Mtesa and Makoko,¹ as he has taught in his lectures to the scandal of the symbolists, such as Pierret² and Jacques de Rougé; will soon send proofs of his article on Naville's *Todtenbuch* [*Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* xv, 266–316 = *EM* I, 325–87]; his views will be found to be revolutionary; Egyptologists have studied these texts more than any others, yet there is so much of the *a priori* in their work; Egypt has been represented as too Utopian, and judged by modern standards.

59. *Paris, 1888, Jan. 18*

Is still working on *Les Momies royales*; has completed a memoir on the Egyptian hierarchy [i.e. Papyrus Hood, *J. as.*, 8th ser., xi, 250–80, 309–43 = *EE* II, 1–66]; is also working on the Myth of Osiris for the *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.*; has had to attend many official functions; all his family have been ill; thanks E. for sending journals and a large-paper copy [of *Egyptian Archaeology*]; thinks the printing is not good, especially that of the illustrations; technical details of printing plates; has sent her plate to be engraved and awaits the text which will be printed in the 2nd fasc. of *Rec. trav.*; suggests a title for the paper [it was eventually called *The Provincial and Private Collections of Egyptian Antiquities in Great Britain*, op. cit. x, 121–33]; has seen Naville who is full of ardour; is assured that he will finish well the work at Bubastis he has so well begun; the collections made by Petrie should be a strong stimulus to subscribers; Naville's work is less spectacular, but more solid; Budge seems no more proficient in Egyptology than he has shown himself in Assyriology; Griffith is highly intellectual, but there are still gaps to fill in his scientific education; regrets that there is no University course in England in which students under an able teacher could become proficient in four or five years; the question ought to be raised.

60. *Paris, 1888, Apl. 29*

Has read the article in the *Athenaeum*, but cannot consider it as damaging;³ the author seems to be more spiteful than terrible; asks E. to send him an outline of the reply she wishes him to make, as he is uncertain whether he should mention the Egypt Expl. Fund and other matters; is sending proofs of two articles for *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* [reviews of works on Egyptian mythology by Brugsch and Lanzone, xviii, 253–78, xix, 1–45 = *EM* II, 189–278]; his ideas on the subject differ considerably from those generally held; he will be criticized for his opinions, but is quite indifferent; many of his ideas, contested at first, have been generally adopted; his critics usually pass through three stages: (1) They prove that the theory is false and that the author is an imbecile, (2) the theory is declared to be demolished, and (3) the critic proves that he himself conceived and defended the theory long before the author ever thought of it; he (M.) has been apt to consider that during the first two stages he may perhaps be wrong, but on the assertion of the third he knows that he was right, though he never wastes time on contesting priorities; *Rec. trav.* is unremunerative to the publisher, as the outlay is barely covered by the sales; it is only possible to produce it so long as the French Govt. continue to take fifty copies for public libraries; there are only about eighty subscribers, hardly any of whom are Egyptologists, about seventy are amateurs who are interested in Egypt—

¹ Chiefs of the Bateke tribe of the Congo. Maspero had evidently recently read the African travels of De Brazza, published in Paris in 1887.

² Paul Pierret (1837–1916), conservator of the Egyptian collections in the Louvre.

³ This refers to an ill-natured and quibbling review of E.'s translation of the *Arch. ég.* in which sneering remarks are made as to Miss E.'s competence and as to the Egypt Expl. Fund (*Athenaeum*, Apl. 21, 1888, p. 506). The article is not signed.

lawyers, clergymen, and retired army officers; his services as editor are gratuitous, but the journal is serviceable to science, and has given the opportunity to the younger men, such as Wiedemann, Piehl, Loret, Bouriant, Virey, and Max Müller, to make their début and become known; has seen E.'s friend, Miss Brodrick,¹ who came to one of his lectures and told him how ill she (E.) has been; has found a curious manuscript—a kind of conversation manual in Arabic and French of the fourteenth century, with the French words written in Coptic letters with faults that almost make one tremble; it reminds him of his Egyptian cook and the dragomans chattering in what they believed to be French; is about to publish it in *Romania* [xvii, 481–512 = *EM* v, 175–212]; *Les Momies royales* advances slowly.

61. [Paris, 1888, May —]

Asks E. to send the MS. [of her paper for *Rec. trav.*] just as it is, and corrections can be made in proof; sends letter of reply to the *Athenaeum* to be used or withheld as E. may think best; thinks that to take notice of such writers by replying to them is to do them a service.²

62. Paris, 1888, July 3

He duly received E.'s MS., but thinks it too short and asks for additions; the publication of *Rec. trav.* has been delayed by a dispute between the printer and the publisher; has found Petrie's book interesting [*A Season in Egypt*], but the author is wrong in thinking that the *ka* related only to the dead; E. is wrong in translating the title $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\text{𓆏}$ as 'widow'; discussion of that title, which later probably became the equivalent of the *ἐπίκλησις* of Greek law; inquires whether *Tanis*, part II, has appeared and if *Naukratis* is in progress; a theory on the supposed king Ianri,³ whose name may be related to Iambris, Jambres, *Ἰαμβρῆς*, one of the magicians of Pharaoh mentioned in the Pauline Epistles [2 Tim. iii. 8]; as the interpolation of *b* between the nasal and *r* is constant as well as the change from *n* to *m*, *Ἰαμβρῆς* would be the transcription of Ianri; these observations he intends to publish later; doubts whether the \odot , *ri*, is really part of the name and quotes the gratuitous insertion of \odot in cartouches in the Turin Canon of Kings and Pap. Sallier I; if the \odot is superfluous, Ianri, i.e. Iana, Iani, would become *Ἄννας*, also written Ianias and Iannas, one of the Hyksos kings; he puts forth this hypothesis for what it may be worth, but does not intend to enunciate it at present;⁴ has seen Miss Brodrick [see above, No. 60] and has given her advice on her studies, but thinks she is impatient and wants to publish without sufficient knowledge, a fault common to all beginners from Wiedemann to Budge; Budge is an extraordinary man, but unfortunately errors once started cannot be stopped nor afterwards rectified; errors can be made even after deep study, but how much more by one who has only half-knowledge.

63. Le Portel, près Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1888, Aug. 20

Sends proofs of E.'s article [*Rec. trav.* x, 121]; corrects her reading of $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\text{𓆏}$ to $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\text{𓆏}$, the beginning of a well-known formula; the tomb of Queen Hatshepsut was in one of the crypts at the end of [the temple of] Dēr el-Bahri, a fact known long ago and mentioned in Rhind's *Thebes*.⁵

¹ Mary Brodrick translated Mariette's *Aperçu* under the title *Outlines of Ancient Egyptian History* (1890), and revised and edited a new edition of Brugsch's *Egypt under the Pharaohs* (1891). In collaboration with A. A. Morton, she published *A Concise Dictionary of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1902.

² Maspero's reply to the *Athenaeum* reviewer (see above No. 60) was published in the issue of May 19, 1888, p. 631. A foolish editorial note was added, which shows how little the editor or his reviewer really understood the points at issue.

³ Naville had mistaken \odot for \odot in the cartouche on the statue of Khyan found at Bubastis. He read the name Rayan or Yanra.

⁴ See Maspero's note on this subject in *Struggle of the Nations*, 2nd ed., p. 60, n. 1. Cf. also Meyer, *Chronologie égyptienne*, trans. A. Moret (1912), table on p. 122.

⁵ The identity of the tomb was mistaken. Hatshepsut had two tombs: the first, abandoned, was described by Howard Carter, *JEA* iv, 113; the second is in the Valley of the Kings (No. 20), for the history of which see Porter and Moss, *Bibliography*, 1, 28.

64. *Le Portel*, 1888, Aug. 25

Sympathy on E.'s illness; difficulty of procuring *tirages-à-part* of her article; the elder Vieweg¹ [publisher of *Rec. trav.*] is dead, and his son, finding the firm's finances embarrassed, is difficult and economical to the last degree; he has refused *tirages* to many contributors, and declares that as the *Rec. trav.* barely covers its expenses, any extra cost means a loss to him; he thinks Vieweg is right, and regards the journal as of great service to science and uses far more hieroglyphic type than the *Zeitschrift*; the printing of *Les Momies royales* is still proceeding, and will be glad to have it off his hands.

65. *Le Portel* [1888, Sept. 4] (*Dated by postmark*)

Has received proof of the second part of E.'s article, and corrects a number of errors in her hieroglyphic texts.

66. *Paris*, 1890, July 7

Apologizes for long delay in writing; has had much illness in his family; condoles with E. on the accident she had in America;² the same befell Thécophile Gautier on his way to Egypt in 1869; thanks E. for sending the volumes of Griffith, Petrie, and Naville [Egypt Expl. Fund Memoirs VII and IX], which he intends to review in the *Rev. Critique* [*EM* v, 41-6, 261-7]; his *Cat. du Musée de Marseille* delayed by the municipality, but hopes E. has now received it; is finishing a series of chapters on Assyrian history for children; the book will be 'science made easy' and hopes to sow the seeds of interest in archaeology amongst the young;³ his *Archéologie* is already having this effect, it is much used for school prizes; his new book will be ready by October and will attempt to reconstruct the public and private life of Egypt and Assyria, the only two peoples who have left pictured monuments; the school at Cairo makes progress; the publication of Edfu begins this year; Bénédite⁴ has finished his copies of Philae and hopes to begin publication by 1892; Bouriant considers Médinet Habu will be two years' work; early numbers [of the *Mémoires*] will be devoted to Theban tombs, Coptic texts, the end of Ravaisse's memoir on the Palace of the Fatimite Caliphs, and a part of Burgoin's study of Arab Art; more could be done if funds were greater; hopes E.'s journey to America will provide material for a book; he has many American friends.

67. *Paris*, 1890, Aug. 18

Has sent on Mrs. Field's letter to Hachette, his publisher, on whom rights of translation depend; they are not likely to refuse, but the matter is solely in their hands;⁵ the book is nearly ready but is waiting for the illustrations; it belongs to the class called in England 'Children's books'; it is intended for those in the Sixth Class in the Lycées, or children of about 11-13 years of age; it is a new experiment on his part; his heavy package [probably *Les Momies royales*], which is 'de l'hiéro-

¹ F. Vieweg conducted the publishing-house of A. Franck, 67 Rue de Richelieu, Paris. The business was afterwards taken over by Honoré Champion and moved to the Quai Malaquais, and was continued by Édouard Champion.

² At Columbus, Ohio, on her return journey, E. broke her left arm.

³ These chapters formed a book entitled *Au temps de Ramsès et d'Assurbanipal*. It was translated into English by Alice Morton as *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, London, 1891. The French publication ran into five editions, the first of which (1890) had the title *Lectures historiques*, changed as above in the second and succeeding editions.

⁴ Georges Bénédite (1857-1926) succeeded Pierret as conservator of the Egyptian department of the Louvre. See *Rev. Ég. anc.* 1, 250-78.

⁵ It is not clear to which of Maspero's books this refers. The new book had not yet appeared, and it was afterwards translated, not by Mrs. Field, but by Alice A. Morton. Of the various books which were translated into English the translators were Miss Amelia Edwards, Mrs. MacClure, Miss A. S. Griffith (Mrs. Johns), Miss Elizabeth Lee, and Miss Alice A. Morton. Mrs. Field's application seems to have been unsuccessful.

glyphisme à outrance', is one of the supports for his great History, which still advances, but slowly; has dined with an American artist named Dyer who travelled in Egypt at the same time as E.; asks E. to make his apologies to Tomkins,¹ to whom he ought to have written long ago but will do so before long.

68. *Paris, 1890, Dec. 11*

His authority to reproduce illustrations from his *Arch. ég.* is not sufficient, as the publisher has sold the English rights, and application must be made to him; Mariette's *Déir el-Baharî* was published by Hinrichs of Leipzig, but he considers that reproduction now needs no authorization; has sent E. a copy of his *Cat. du Musée de Marseille*; if the municipality of Marseilles should also send one he asks E. to return it to him as he has very few copies.

69. *Paris, 1891, Feb. 22*

Sends extracts from a letter from Grébaut concerning his discovery [of the second find of mummies at Dêr el-Bahri]; these are the first authentic details, and they will be published in the *Journ. des Débats* and by Ebers in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*; suggests that E. should communicate an account to *The Times*; has received two copies of *Bubastis* [Egypt Expl. Fund, VIIIth Memoir]; will present one of them to the Institut.

70. *Carolles (Manche), 1891, Aug. 17*

Commiserates with E. on her illness; hopes she will soon be well enough to resume her activities for the Egypt Expl. Fund; his own ill health; will have to forgo the Congress [of Orientalists] in London, but will send a paper to be communicated; after the dissensions at the Stockholm meeting he urged the Congress Committee to decide upon England for the next meeting as a country neutral to the quarrel that had arisen; but he had not reckoned with the *odium philologicum*, and has been astonished to see English scholars range themselves as followers of the German Max Müller² and the Austrian Leitner³ in that very quarrel which he thought they had avoided; has subscribed to the 1891 Congress, but shall not join that of 1892; the avowed intention of the members of this second Congress to alter the rules in such a way as to transform the former open meetings into a close clique seems deplorable; he consented with pleasure [in the past] to associate himself with these assemblies which had for their purpose not only the reunion of professional Orientalists, but also to make known Oriental studies to those who were not officially engaged in them, and consequently to spread information and perhaps promote vocations amongst them; he cannot any longer take part in a purely academic régime, particularly as those who are the lions have so good an opinion of themselves that they seek to confine science to their own particular circle of friends; what is happening to-day is a curious episode in the conflict between scholars of University education and scholars by vocation, although a University man himself his sympathies are all for the others; our own students above all have been recruited amongst the latter, for neither Champollion, nor Rawlinson,⁴

¹ The Rev. Henry George Tomkins of Weston-super-Mare, who was much interested in Biblical Archaeology and published many papers on the subject. He translated into English Maspero's communication to the Victoria Institute on the names relating to Judaea in the lists of Tuthmosis III.

² Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900), Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford; his theories on language, which had some vogue in their day, are now utterly discredited and well-nigh forgotten.

³ Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (1840-99), Professor of Arabic and Mohammedan Law at King's Coll., London, and afterwards Principal of the Govt. Coll. at Lahore; he returned to England and founded the Oriental Institute at Woking.

⁴ Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bt., K.C.B. (1810-95), 'the father of Assyriology'. See *DNB* XLVII, 328, and Budge, *Rise and Progress of Assyriology*, *passim*.

nor Burnouf,¹ nor George Smith² were University men; the principles which Max Müller and his friends are attempting to impose will have the result of excluding such men from the Congress; these disputes, however, are of no interest, and he regrets that Eisenlohr³ has troubled E. with them, but tact is not his strong point; regrets that his memoir on the Royal Mummies has not been sent, as he entered E.'s name on the list to receive all the publications of the Mission archéologique; suggests that she should write to the Minister [of Public Instruction] and he will support the claim.

71. *Carolles, 1891, Aug. 26*

Acknowledges her letter, which he will transmit to M. Charmes as soon as he returns, and if there is a copy left [of *Les Momies royales*] it shall be sent; will be unable to attend the London Congress owing to bad health and bad weather; his doctor has threatened that if the winter is not better, he will order him away for two months to the Vosges or the Pyrenees, and he must therefore do his best to regain his former health; hears from Sayce that Tomkins is seriously ill, and is uncertain whether he should write to him or wait for further news; intends to write a long article on *Bubastis* and asks when the second volume will appear [*Rev. crit.* 1893, I, 381-90 = *EM* VI, 79-93].

¹ Eugène Burnouf (1801-52), French Orientalist, author of many works on Persian and Indian philosophy and literature.

² George Smith (1840-1876), Assyriologist on the staff of the Brit. Mus. See *DNB* LIII, 39, and Budge, *Rise and Progress of Assyriology*, 106 ff.

³ Auguste Eisenlohr (1832-1902), professor of Egyptology at Heidelberg.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Cult of the 𓏏-pole

A SMALL pot with figure of a boat with ensign (fig. 1) was found by Petrie in 1900 at Diospolis Parva but is not referred to by him in the text.¹ In 1921 the same writer (*Prehistoric Egypt*, 20) remarked that 'the sign differs from all others in being on a double pole. The nature of it is unknown'. A glance at the drawing shows that the left-hand pole is placed slantingly on top of the mast behind the aft-cabin and the lower end of it rests on the cabin roof. This ensign is identical with the hieroglyph 𓏏, 𓏏, 𓏏 which, on some Predynastic pots (fig. 2) is drawn with two, three, and in one instance, four streamers like the one on the boat.

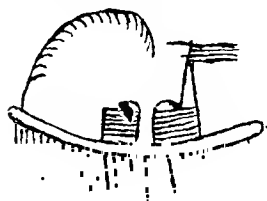


FIG. 1. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. 16, No. 40 b.



FIG. 2. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 55 a, Nos. 153, 151, 149.

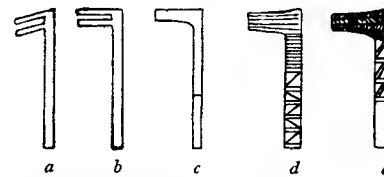


FIG. 3. (a) Cairo No. 1, Dyn. II. (b) Garstang, Mahasna and Bêt Khallaf, pl. 8, Dyn. III. (c) Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 24, Dyn. IV. (d) Murray, *Saqq. Mast.* 1, pl. 1, Dyn. V. (e) Dêr el-Bahri, fragment, Dyn. XI.

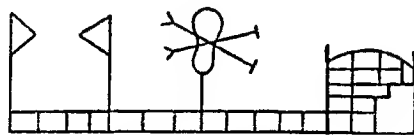


FIG. 4. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 3 A.

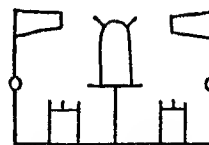






FIG. 5. Petrie, *Tanis*, II, pl. 42.




The hieroglyph 𓏏 represents a pole wrapped round with a band of cloth, bound by a cord, the end projecting as a flap or streamer (fig. 3). Another early form has a triangular flap at top (fig. 4); that it corresponds with the 𓏏 is clear from a comparison of the First and Twenty-sixth Dynasty (fig. 5) representations of the temple of Neith at Sais. These poles before the temples are the tall masts (*snty*) that were set up in front² of the great temple pylons of the New Kingdom. They served to mark a sacred area just as the hieroglyph 𓏏 marked a cemetery or 'God's Acre'.



In Pharaonic times the hieroglyph 𓏏 was the common ideograph for 'god'; it was the emblem of divinity, though earlier, as is seen in the Diospolis Parva pot, it was itself a cult-object like all the other ensigns figured on the red-on-buff pots. Before the union of the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt the cult of the 𓏏-pole must have been the predominant cult among the people who evolved the hieroglyphic system of writing. If the Upper Egyptian Hieraconpolites had originated






¹ I do not know in which museum this pot is preserved and should be grateful for any information on the subject. Note that in Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*, 1921, pl. 33, no. 40 L, the drawing does not correspond to that given in *Diospolis Parva*, pl. 16: the slanting pole has been omitted.


² Arkell (*JEA* XIX, 176) records that in the Blue Nile Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and also north of Khartum westwards to Darfur, where any form of building has been erected over a holy man's grave, flags are always placed in front of the entrance and not in any other position. I have noted this also in Nubia and along the Mediterranean littoral as far west as Sollum.





it we should expect that the words for temple and priest would have been written  and  whereas the former is invariably  and the latter .

The original seat of the -cult in Egypt was probably  *Ntr* (*Pyr.* 1268), Behbît el-Hagar, in the Central Delta, and this is the easternmost of all the ensigns displayed on the pots of the Predynastic Period. Isis was the chief divinity here and the secular name of the city was  'Festival-town'. At the present day flags are always displayed at festivals. The Venetian mast is a tall pole wrapped spirally with coloured bands of cloth, and in Europe generally it is used for the decoration of streets and open places on festal occasions.

The -pole was certainly not a cult-object of Egyptian origin for Egypt does not produce any tree with straight trunk of the size needed for the masts of temple pylons. The region from whence the trunks were imported was  *T3-ntr* 'the land of the *ntr*-pole' (usually translated 'Gods' land). The geographical name denoted, not a territory with definite boundaries, but a region of wide extent, probably the whole country to the north-east and south-east of Egypt. It included countries to the north of Syria, Syria itself, the eastern and western littoral of the Red Sea, and part of Abyssinia. It was the northern part of Syria that was especially famed for its splendid trees, and the pylon masts in Dyn. XVIII were cut from them.

There are numerous references to these masts in inscriptions from the beginning of the New Kingdom to Roman times. They are always stated to have been of  *rs*-wood, a fir (*Abies cilicica*, Carrière, *Wb.* 1, 228, 1) that is still common in Syria and Asia Minor, and the source of much turpentine oil. This tree is described as 'of Byblos', of 'the Lebanon', of 'the Terraces', and of 'the Domains of Amûn' in northern Syria. A resinous substance exudes from its trunk, which was, and still is, used as incense; in modern commerce it is known as common frankincense. Sometimes the hieroglyph  is depicted with a bowl or bag below it ; this bowl or bag was employed to catch the resin exuding from the stem. In modern days the resin is often collected by puncturing the bark and letting the resinous turpentine drip into a bowl fixed below the puncture on the trunk. In the London Medical Papyrus 16, 16, it is said  'the incense of the god issuing from him'. The incense is said to be the  'sweat of the god descended to the ground; he has given it to all the gods'.

The -pole is probably the same as the *ashera* which is often mentioned in the Bible. This was a post of wood (Deut. 16, 21), a thing fashioned by men's hands (Isa. 17, 8; cf. 1 Kings 16, 33), an object of worship (the Phoenician inscription of Mas'ub speaks of 'Astarte in the Ashera of the divinity of Hamon'). Every altar had its *ashera* (Deut. 16, 21, cf. 2 Kings 13, 6). There were prophets of it (1 Kings 18, 19) and cloth was specially woven for it by women devotees (2 Kings 23, 7). The names of Baal and Ashera are often found coupled precisely as those of Baal and Astarte and it has been inferred that Ashera was only another name or form of the great Semitic goddess. Cybele, the great mother goddess in Phrygia, is also identified with Astarte and it is important to note that on the first day of Spring, the festival of Cybele and Attis (at Rome and in Phrygia), a coniferous tree was cut down in the woods and brought into the sanctuary of Cybele where it was treated as a great divinity and the trunk swathed with woollen bands (Fraser, *Adonis*, 1, 267; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1894, 187 f.).

The bands in which the -pole were wrapped would themselves absorb some of the divine effulgence from the resinous trunk and in that way they became divine. When taken off they were employed in wrapping mummies. The Egyptian prayed that there might be fitted upon him the sacred linen of fine stuffs from the cast-off vestments of the divine limbs. Paḥeri (pl. 9, 4) desired that he be wrapped in clothing which the god had taken off. This explains the meaning of the -sign in the Sign Papyrus of Tanis (Col. xv. 2)  'swaddled', cf.  'mummy-bands', 'garment of the god' (*Wb.* 11, 363).

PERCY E. NEWBERRY

Additional Demotic Evidence on the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr

IN *JEA* xxix, 37 ff., Gardiner published an article on 'The Name of Lake Moeris', and on p. 40 f. he summed up the evidence of the demotic papyri. Additional evidence is found in a number of University of Michigan demotic papyri which I have edited and hope to publish in the near future. P. Mich. Inv. No. 4526.C2/4,5 cites 'the south-eastern quarter of the Suchus town of Philadelphia [. . .] *Tḥ-nhy* which is in the division of Heraklides which is on the northern *ꜥd* of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr in the nome of Arsinoe'. P. Mich. Inv. No. 4244.5a/5 refers to 'the Suchus town of Heliopolis (*pḥr Iwn*) which is in the division of Themistes on the southern *ꜥd* [of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr]'. The restoration seems fairly certain, especially in view of the evidence of Loeb 64-65/3, the provenance of which is probably also Heliopolis.¹

With the wide distribution of towns in the Fayyūm stated to be on the *ꜥd* of the *ḥōnē* of Mi-wēr (the exact location of Heliopolis in the division of Themistes is unknown), it perhaps is better to translate *ꜥd* as 'side' rather than 'shore'. Justification for this translation is found in N.Y. Hist. Soc. 373b/4 (*Mizraim*, I, pls. 7-10), 'on the southern side (*ꜥd*) of the dromos of Serapis', and N.Y. Hist. Soc. 388/2 (*ibid.*, pls. 11-13), 'on the northern side of the dromos of Serapis'.

It should be noted that *ḥōnē* is used in demotic papyri also as a boundary of property. It occurs in Berlin 7056/4, and Spiegelberg's *MS WB* gives a reference to a similar occurrence in B.M. 10560/10 (from a photograph supplied by Thompson), the papyrus being from Philadelphia in the Fayyūm.² P. Mich. Inv. No. 4244.2c/10 (from Heliopolis) gives as boundaries of a field, 'north, east, west, the *ḥōn[ē]*'. Unfortunately the words following *ḥōnē* are lost.

CHARLES F. NIMS

P. Aberdeen 133 and P. Berlin 6866

THE facsimile of P. Berlin 6866 (No. 27 in Mallon, Marichal, Perrat, *L'Écriture Latine*) and its detailed publication by Robert Marichal in *L'Occupation romaine de la basse Égypte* have made possible the identification of the Aberdeen scrap as a further fragment of P. Berlin 6866. Its text can now be read as follows:

]cos
].S-HELIOPOL(ITANUS)
i]n viaticō (denarios) LXX[V]

The right-hand edge presumably carries the end of the lines in the column concerned. It is not possible to assign it to its proper position in P. Berlin 6866, for the possibilities are too numerous. It could be placed, for example, in col. I (see the drawing on p. 23 of Marichal, *L'Occupation rom.*), in particular just before Marichal's line 13 (it would be fanciful but not impossible to claim the traces in Marichal's line 12 as the feet of letters in P. Aberdeen 133, l. 3); in col. III, Marichal's l. 80 or l. 85 or l. 93; col. IV (P. 6866 B, fragm. C, l. 105); col. V, of which in any case nothing survives; the top of col. VI or the top of col. VII. Nevertheless, the identification gives a second instance of Heliopolis as a metropolitan *origo* of the auxiliaries listed in P. Berlin 6866 and adds one further example to the list in P. Aberdeen p. v of pieces divided between Aberdeen and Berlin. Negatively, also, it means that P. Aberdeen 133 is to be struck out of the catalogue of Latin literary papyri compiled by the late Paul Collart in *Rev. de Phil.* xv (1941), 112 ff.


E. G. TURNER

¹ This was my considered judgement after an examination of the original in 1936. I had also concluded that the reading 'southern *ꜥd*' was almost certain; cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 41.

² I am indebted to Edgerton for permission to use this reference.




On a Late Napatan or Early Meroitic King's Name

THE accompanying photograph, for the inclusion of which as a half-tone illustration the editor has kindly made arrangements, was taken by Mr. A. J. Arkell, Conservator of Antiquities for the Sudan Government. It shows two cartouches from a royal titulary inscribed on a door-jamb brought to the Merowe Museum from Gebel Barkal (Napata) in about 1925. No more is known. In the winter of last year, when the Museum was visited by a party including Miss Moss and Mrs. Burney, collecting material for vol. VII of the *Topographical Bibliography*, Mr. Dows Dunham, who is at present engaged in publishing Sudan material from the excavations of the late Dr. Reisner, and Mr. Arkell, the existence of these cartouches was noted on two independent objects in the Museum, the upper part of a sandstone stela (No. 43) and the grey granite jamb (No. 40) shown here. The stela was included by Dr. Reisner in his inventory of inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal as having been found in the Great Temple, in room B 501 (*ZÄS* LXVI, 83, No. *62), and shows the king (destroyed) before ram-headed Amen-Rē, the scene being accompanied by the same pair of cartouches.

The names of the kings of the Napatan kingdom were written in Egyptian hieroglyphs, each having a royal titulary of five names, four of which were based on Egyptian models. The  name was, however, with few exceptions, of native origin. Apart from the inclusion of 'Amani', the local version of the name of the god Amūn, for which the traditional Egyptian spelling demanded one biliteral sign, these names were usually spelt alphabetically, one sign standing for one letter. In the Meroitic period a fixed alphabet, consisting of signs mainly of Egyptian descent, was adopted for spelling native names, but these were intended to be read in the direction towards which the signs face, that is, from the Egyptian standpoint, backwards. Hence it is easy to distinguish between spellings of Napatan type and spellings of Meroitic type. During the early part of the Meroitic period, the period of the obsolescence of the one type of writing and of the gradual evolution of the other, royal names were spelt sometimes in Napatan (Egyptian) fashion, sometimes in Meroitic fashion, sometimes both ways, and sometimes, when no scribe was obtainable, not at all. The present names are written in Egyptian fashion, so their owner is likely to have been a king of the Napatan period or of the early Meroitic.



In Dr. Reisner's chronological list (*JEA* ix, 75) there are six pyramids of the early Meroitic period (Bark. XI, XIV, XV, XVIII, VII, and Beg. N. LIII) still unidentified, and the tendency has been to assume that in that alphabetic age, if not even a royal tomb could boast a scribe, no more kings' names could be discovered. To these unnamed pyramids must be added one (Ku. I) dated to near the end of the Napatan period, the suggested builder of which, Pi'ankhalara, turns out from the Kawa inscriptions to have been one of the ancestors of the line, and must in consequence be placed at the head of it. For these seven gaps five new native royal names have been recovered from the inscriptions of Kawa, though it is impossible to say which belongs to which. The names are Ary Miamūn (or Aryamani), Arnekh Miamūn (or Arnekhamani), Pi'ankh-yerike-ka, Aman . . . sabrak . . . (perhaps Sabrak . . . Miamūn or Sabrak . . . amani), and one which commences with 'Kashta' and is very doubtfully to be conjectured as Kashta-yerike. Apart from the fact that Aman . . . sabrak . . . , whose throne-name was *H'-m-Npt* ('Shining forth in Napata'), was the successor of Pi'ankh-yerike-ka, nothing is known of their sequence. The king whose names are shown in the photograph is evidently a sixth candidate.

The element 'Miamūn' in the names given above may be merely graphic, for variant spellings of Reisner's 'Yesruwaman' (No. 29 in the list cited) give an apparent Yesru Miamūn. The prenomen in the photograph here considered is *Mn-mꜣrt-R'-stp-n-(R')*. The second name I will not venture to transliterate. *Stp-n-R'* does not appear in the throne-name of any hitherto listed Napatan kinglet, but it is used in that of Ary Miamūn (or Aryamani), the style of whose reliefs at Kawa dates him to the period under discussion, that is, between 350 and 150 B.C.

however, two objections to Polotsky's employing the term 'relatif abstrait' for the verb-form introducing such noun clauses (his 'propositions substantives'): the first is that he causes his colleagues unnecessary headaches by using the word 'relatif' in a way with which they are unfamiliar; the second is that he loads the dice in favour of a conjecture of his for which he evidently wishes to win our belief, namely, that *all* verb-forms introducing noun clauses have necessarily identity or near-identity¹ with what both he and we call relative forms—his 'relatifs concrets'—i.e. the forms found in adjective clauses ('propositions relatives'). Before leaving this question of terminology I must comment upon another usage of his which is even more glaringly ill-chosen. In §§ 25 ff. he proves in brilliant and convincing fashion that the Late-Egyptian form  may perform² the same function as the Second Tenses in Coptic, namely, to indicate that the stress lies on an adverbial adjunct;³ and farther on (§ 28) he attempts to show that the same holds good of all examples in affirmative main clauses of what I term the Imperfective *šdm.f*. On the latter point I strongly disagree with him; but this is an issue which can be finally decided only by a toilsome and lengthy scrutiny of individual passages.⁴ Polotsky's aim, then, is to convince us that forms like  and —forms which geminate in the 2ae gem., 3ae inf., and some other classes of verb—are 'relatifs abstraits'. He must, accordingly, at all costs avoid the term Imperfective *šdm.f*, which implies at once a parallelism to, and a contrast with, the Perfective *šdm.f*. For this reason he falls back on the term 'emphatic form' employed by Erman and Sethe. Could any term, even if mitigated by inverted commas—Polotsky always writes '*šdm.f* "emphatique"'—be more inappropriate? The whole point of his argumentation is to show that where such forms occur the intention has been to lay the emphasis on an adverbial adjunct at the expense of the verb-form. And yet he chooses to call that very verb-form '*šdm.f* "emphatique"'!

We must now, however, call a halt to this terminological wrangle and get back to the road which Polotsky has chosen for us. From the exposition of his distinction between 'relatif concret' and 'relatif abstrait' he turns to the illustration thereof from English (§ 21). His collection of English examples, very interesting in itself, shows that these fall under two heads according as (I) a relative pronoun or (II) the conjunction *that* is used,⁵ and Type I displays two varieties according as the relative pronoun (*a*) is subject or (*b*) plays some other syntactic role. All three possibilities are exemplified in the following multiple sentence constructed on the model of one cited by Polotsky himself: (Ia) *It is Jimmy who was his closest friend*; (Ib) *it is Jimmy whose company he sought on all festive occasions*; and (II) *it was with Jimmy that he sallied forth on his twenty-third birthday*. Polotsky makes the analogy of Type II with the sentences employing the Coptic Second Tenses all the more plausible because he is able to produce Biblical passages where a sentence of this type is co-ordinated with one of Type Ia; thus $\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota \nu\alpha\rho \alpha\eta \alpha\pi\kappa\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\pi\iota \tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\epsilon \alpha\gamma\omega \alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\theta\omicron\iota \alpha\eta \pi\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\sigma\omicron\gamma$ (Ps. xliii. 3) can be aptly rendered: (II) *It is not through their sword that they inherited the earth*; and (Ia) *it is not their arm which saved them*. There are two features, however—and Polotsky frankly admits it (§ 24 *ad init.*)—in which the Coptic and the English constructions differ: in the example just quoted the Second Perfect stands before the adverbial adjunct instead of after it; and the English introduces an element *it is* absent from the Coptic. Surely these differences are more important than Polotsky makes them out to be. It is true that on pp. 39, 44, and 45 he quotes a few instances where the adverbial adjunct precedes a Second Tense, but he is not disposed to attach importance to them since he admits that for a really close resemblance to his 'phrase coupée' the Arabic construction with أَتَمَّا must be compared (§ 24 *ad init.*).⁶ Polotsky is right in not laying overmuch store by these rare cases, since they are suspect in that the position of the adverbial adjunct is probably copied from the Greek originals, and in any case a Coptic equivalent of English *it is* is absent. For the Coptic construction with the Second Perfect to be truly comparable to *it is with Jimmy that*, etc., we require some examples like * $\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\epsilon$

¹ The alternative is indispensable in view of Polotsky's remarks at the top of p. 72.

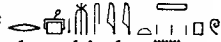

² Perhaps, in his view, always performs; I shall show elsewhere, however, that the form  is sometimes only a writing of .

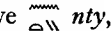
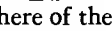
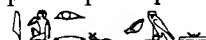



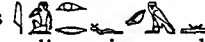
³ Černý has quoted good additional examples in note *u* to his article *JEA*, xxxi, 34.

⁴ One in my opinion quite conclusive example will be quoted by me; see below, p. 99.

⁵ There are instances in which either pronoun or conjunction is omitted.

⁶ I have to confess that my knowledge of Arabic is no longer equal (if ever it was) to estimating the relevancy of this Arabic parallel.

αν πεντακληρονομαι απηκαρ and we seek in vain for such a missing link. The possibility of such a missing link is not disproved by the objection that in good Egyptian the place of an adverbial adjunct is after the verb; for (1) from Middle Egyptian one can quote at the beginning of a sentence  'It was after supper' (*Eg. Gramm.* § 158, 2) and (2) it belongs to the nature of a clause ushered in by  *ntt* or the like (see below) that its antecedent, if expressed, should stand before it.¹

Towards the end of his book (§ 32 *ad init.*) Polotsky acknowledges, with admirable candour, that his theory of the Coptic Second Tenses as relative forms (in *his* sense) has been largely based on the analysis of the Second Perfect. Here clearly he is thinking mainly of the Sa'idic or Bohairic Second Perfects, which are identical in appearance with the Sa'idic or Bohairic Perfect Relatives (ⲡⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲁⲓ, ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲁⲓ) and are marked by a prefix that undoubtedly represents the Middle Egyptian relative adjective  *nty*, whether in this masculine form or in the feminine, cf.  *ntt* 'that' (conjunction). The presence here of the relative adjective is confirmed by ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲓ and ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉ- which, as already noted, function likewise as Second Tenses. But the development of these forms is admitted by Polotsky to have taken place within the Coptic stage of the language, and, as I hope to have shown, it is far from certain that they originated in the way he imagines them to have done. At this point one would have expected him to deal with the remaining Coptic Second Tenses, but these he reserves for treatment in his concluding pages (pp. 94 ff.) and next proceeds (§§ 25 ff.) to a discussion of the pre-Coptic equivalents. As I have already remarked, many of the examples he quotes of Late-Egyptian  show a similar emphasizing of the adverbial adjunct, and the reasons he advances for thinking that this form functions as a substantival subject, notably in the use with  (p. 89, bottom), are completely convincing. He disclaims (p. 70, n. 3) any desire to utilize as an argument the identical appearance of  in this construction with the (adjectival) relative form  'which he made', but I cannot help thinking that the said identity has influenced him to some extent. I do not propose, in this review, to discuss , firstly because my mind is far from clear on the subject, and secondly because such a discussion would take up too much space. Let us, therefore, pass on to Polotsky's examination of the Middle Egyptian verb-forms which I call the Imperfective *šdm.f*, but which Polotsky, in his Table on p. 93, characterizes as the non-predicative abstract relative form of indefinite time.











By '(forme) non-prédicative' Polotsky means what I should describe by the words 'not used as a narrative tense'; the sense which he attributes to the term '(forme) relative abstraite' has been explained above (p. 97); in affirming that the form is indefinite in time he stresses a point he had sought to demonstrate at different stages of his argument, and before I close this review I shall attempt to prove a possible degree of rightness about it as regards the Imperfective *šdm.f* when used as a noun (*his* 'forme relative abstraite'). In the Table just mentioned, under the rubric 'Temps indéfini' Polotsky has printed the following forms: *hꜣw* (passive participle); *hꜣ.f* ('forme prédicative'); *hꜣ(w).f* ('forme non-prédicative relative concrète' = my Imperfective relative form); and lastly *hꜣ.f* ('forme non-prédicative, relative abstraite'—how this is to be interpreted is stated a few lines back). In the copy of his book which Polotsky had the kindness to send me, he has corrected his 'forme prédicative' here from *hꜣ.f* into *hꜣ.f*, and the necessity of that correction emerges from his argument on the preceding page. I cannot resist the temptation to point out how greatly the correction diminishes (to use an expression of Polotsky's own) 'la séduisante harmonie' of his conspectus of Middle Egyptian verb-forms.





However, I have rushed ahead too fast and must now return to the pages where Polotsky attempts to show that what I call the Imperfective *šdm.f* is really in essence a 'forme relative abstraite' (a *that*-clause). He begins (pp. 71 ff.) by seeking to meet the objections which might be raised to such a view, namely, (1) the absence of the feminine ending *-t* to be expected from the analogy of the *šdmt.f* form and from the conjunction *ntt* 'that', and (2) the alternative absence of the masculine ending *-w*. He admits the seriousness of these objections, which, however much he would like to believe it, are not to be disposed of by what he himself calls the 'hypothèse évasive', that it is perhaps just these absences which are the mark of the 'neutre abstrait' (p. 72).² The previous argument concerning the Coptic Second Perfect had led us to suppose that

¹ It will not be denied, I hope, that in *it was with Jimmy that*, etc., the words *with Jimmy* are a sort of antecedent. In spite of Polotsky's defence (op. cit., p. 59, n. 1) I regard Tobler's concept of a 'beziehungsloses Relativum' as sheer nonsense.

² See above, p. 97, n. 1.

in this phase of the language the Second Perfect and the Perfect Relative form were one and the same, only used in two different functions. Now when we come to the corresponding Middle Egyptian 'with indefinite time' we are taught that the 'concrete relative' and the 'abstract relative' are different forms, and that the 'abstract relative', while exactly parallel in structure to the prospective¹ predicative form save for the presence of the gemination, not only lacks the feminine ending that would have indicated its 'abstract' function, but also lacks the predicative function which the absence of the feminine ending might have led one to expect.

The penning of my last sentence has left me with the uneasy feeling that my own argumentation may, in its turn, be becoming hopelessly obscure. It is a relief to turn to the plain and crucial question: is such a form as  ever used 'predicatively' or in simple verbal statement? I have already asserted that a painstaking scrutiny of the individual examples is needed for a final decision in this matter. Such a scrutiny Polotsky has attempted (pp. 78 ff.), but with much of it I cannot agree. Here I will adduce only one example, and for the rest will merely make the comment that Polotsky will find it exceedingly difficult to persuade scholars that  is never a 'predicative' form as believed by Erman, Sethe, Gunn, Lefebvre, De Buck, and myself. But appeal to accepted opinion is no serious argument, and I will now produce my example. It is the divine *sobriquet*  *mrr:f irr:f* or the more pertinent fuller form of this name as it appears in the Pyramid Texts (*Eg. Gramm.* § 442, 4);² this fuller form    can surely only be translated 'Whenever-he-likes-he-does,-whenever-he-dislikes-he-does-not' or alternatively 'He likes-and-he-does,-he-dislikes-and-he-does-not'. The interesting feature here is the complete syntactical parallelism of  and , and since no one will deny that  is a 'forme prédicative' in Polotsky's sense of the term, so too no one can deny that  is a 'forme prédicative'. In other words, there do exist cases where the verb-form *irr:f* or *hrr:f* is a simple main verb, and this use may fairly be assumed as the original one from which other uses are secondarily derived.

Among those other uses are some where the verb-form called by me the Imperfective *šdm:f* has the function now familiar in connexion with the Coptic Second Tenses. Polotsky has completely convinced me on this score. The most indisputable case is in questions for specification (*Eg. Gramm.* § 440, 6), but another one where the same function is probable is the injunction     (§ 440, 5); here a single act is being enjoined, and one might therefore have expected what I call the Perfective *šdm:f* (§ 450, 4); to all appearance there is present no notion of repetition or continuity— notions which in my view³ are the outstanding characteristics of the Imperfective *šdm:f*; a highly plausible rendering, and altogether in harmony with Polotsky's view, would be, 'It is to the sandal-maker Ptaḥwēr that you shall give it (*scil.* the ox-hide)', more literally '(That)-you-give-it is to the sandal-maker Ptaḥwēr'.

It is Polotsky's merit to have recognized that the Imperfective *šdm:f*—henceforth I use my own terminology for clearness' sake—is a verb-form specially adapted for use as a substantive.⁴ The recognition of this fact accounts for several usages for the explanation of which I was totally at a loss, and in preparing the second edition of my Grammar I shall have to subject the chapter on the Imperfective *šdm:f* to a drastic revision. There remains, however, a great gulf fixed between Polotsky's conception of this verb-form and my own. It has been seen that he denies to it the quality of a 'forme prédicative'; for him it is always a

¹ I do not mention the Perfective *šdm:f* since Polotsky, like Lefebvre, thinks that this may have been derived from an active, not a passive, participle. For me, the 'prospective predicative form' is just one function of the Perfective *šdm:f*.

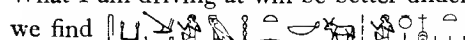

² In my Grammar I have quite wrongly placed this under the heading 'Imperfective *šdm:f* in noun clauses'. Not one of the verb-forms in either the longer or shorter version functions substantively, though the entire expression does so.

³ The first to view the Imperfective *šdm:f* in this way was Golénischeff, see *Eg. Gramm.*, p. 351, n. 1. I seize this opportunity of remarking that De Buck's substitution (*Egyptische Grammatica*, 2nd ed., § 90) of 'momentaan' for my Perfective and 'duratief' for my Imperfective does not seem to me an improvement. The term 'momentaan' would be better suited to describe a particular use of the *šdm:n:f* form (*Egn. Gr.*, § 414, 5), and the term 'duratief' stresses one aspect only, leaving that of custom and repetition in eclipse.

⁴ Polotsky generously admits that I had a very similar idea in connexion with questions for specification employing the negative verb *tm*, see his pp. 86 ff. His book contains no more penetrating pages than those devoted to the uses of this negative verb (§ 31).

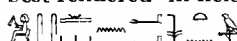
'forme relative abstraite', i.e. congenitally suited for use as a substantive; for me the narrative or predicative use is fundamental, though confined to passages in which a notion of repetition or continuity is perceptible, as in generalizations, proverbs, and statements of custom. In a number of cases where Polotsky rightly diagnoses a stress on the adverbial adjunct, one or other of the said notions is present as well, so that the presence of the stress cannot be used to disprove my contention. There is no reason why sometimes *two* reasons may not have been operative to motivate the choice of a given verb-form; the only examples which could be at all decisive for Polotsky's theory are those where a notion of repetition or continuity is, on a *prima facie* inspection, not discernible, and farther on I shall try to show that such a notion may really be present even when the sentence in question refers to a single occasion.


My formulation in regard to *šdm·f* or *šdm·n·f* forms which are employed substantively was that they are used to introduce 'virtual noun clauses'. Polotsky (p. 86) takes exception to this terminology for reasons of a very hair-splitting kind. In my essay *Some Aspects of the Egyptian Language*, p. 17, I had written 'the word "virtual" stressing the fact that there is no outward sign to indicate their subordinate nature'. Polotsky objects that, on my own showing, there exists such a sign, since in substantively used clauses *iw·f* is replaced by *wn·f*, the simple adjective by the *šdm·f* form of the adjective verb, and the negation by the negative verb *tm*. I have to admit that my expression in *Some Aspects* is not as accurate as I could have wished, but Polotsky ought to have quoted my better definition in *Eg. Gramm.* § 182: 'When a subordinate clause has nothing to distinguish it from a complete sentence except its meaning and its syntactic function (e.g. the replacing of a nominal object, § 69) it is called a *virtual subordinate clause*'; the English examples 'I know he does', 'the day he met us' quoted by me show that I was referring to the absence of conjunctions like 'that', 'because', or of the relative adjective 'which'. But Polotsky's real motive—if I am wrong in imputing it to him I beg his pardon—for this verbal quibble is that he wishes to show that the verb-forms used where there is emphasis on an adverbial predicate are special 'formes relatives abstraites'—forms which have the sole function of introducing 'that-clauses.' The conclusion to which this hypothesis leads him is most surprising. He has found himself obliged to admit (p. 82) that the '*šdm·f* non-geminé (prospectif)' often, and the *šdm·n·f* form occasionally, are found in what I call virtual noun clauses (*that*-clauses without any *that*). How is he to account for these without admitting that the geminating *šdm·f* may, after all, be the medium for introducing a virtual noun clause and not a specially evolved 'forme relative abstraite'? To avoid that possibility he finds himself driven to the assumption that the *šdm·n·f* and non-geminating *šdm·f* conceal under the same exterior aspect two separate forms (1) a 'forme prédicative' and (2) a 'forme relative abstraite' (see p. 83 and the Table on p. 93)—I presume he is thinking of forms differently vocalized for the two functions. I cannot here accompany him into the tenuous evidence which he adduces in support of so daring a supposition (pp. 83 ff.). I can only say it would be hard to find a more patent offence against the sound scholastic rule known as Occam's razor.¹

There still rests on me, however, the onus of seeking some reason for my 'Imperfective *šdm·f*' being specially qualified to introduce 'virtual noun clauses' in cases where at the first flush no notion of repetition or continuity is apparent. It is possible that our ignorance of the workings of the Egyptian mind may prevent the certain discovery of such a reason. Nevertheless I have a suggestion to offer. It is agreed that one of the grounds for the use of the 'Imperfective *šdm·f*' was the desire to lay a predicative stress on an adverbial predicate. This result would naturally be best achieved by removing the stress from the verb-form in the sentence. It was thus important for the Egyptian to avoid saying positively that such and such an action happened or would actually happen. Now this avoidance of direct assertion may be effected by giving the verb-form a general or non-committal character. Infinitives, gerunds, and the cognate verbal substantives are general and non-committal in this sense; they present the action as a possibility, not as an asserted fact. What I am driving at will be better understood by means of an illustration. In Sethe, *Urk.* IV. 132, 9–10 we find  and no competent scholar would deny, I think, that instead of *nt irr·i ds·i* we might have had ². What difference of meaning can there be between these two modes of expression? In the second case we should have had to translate,

¹ 'Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem.'

² '*Ir(w)·n·i* past relative form, of masculine appearance because qualifying a fem. plur. substantive, see *Egn. Gr.* § 511, 2.

'that I might plough with my (own) pair of cows in the fields that I had made myself',¹ and the last words would practically have asserted that there existed lands which this man had himself created. But very possibly the writer felt that such an implicit assertion would be deflecting attention towards a fact that he did not wish to emphasize. For this reason he used a more general verb-form which avoided the same assertion; *m šht nt irr-i ds-i* is best rendered 'in fields of my own making', or not quite so literally 'in fields of my own creation'. So too  'dainties of the king's giving' or 'gift' (*Westcar*, 7, 21). Students will find it profitable to ponder upon the nature of what we term a 'common noun'; a word like 'house' earns its title to this appellation because it is not tied down to some particular house immovably situated in time and space. It is the same sort of generality which I fancy must be attributed to the Imperfective *šdm-f* in the usages that have formed the subject of Polotsky's treatise. Accordingly in the injunction quoted above a more literal and unidiomatic translation would yield, 'your giving the ox-hide (shall be) to the sandal-maker Ptaḥwēr'—almost tantamount to saying 'If ever you decide to part with the ox-hide, you shall give it to the sandal-maker Ptaḥwēr'.



Possibly this explanation is attributing to what I call the Imperfective *šdm-f* a subtlety of nuance which is not there, but at least some such mode of interpretation would bridge over the chasm between the substantival function which Polotsky has proved for it and the notion of repetition or continuity which we others find inherent in it, that notion, of course, being derived from the kindred Imperfective passive participle and the Imperfective relative form, neither of them discussed by Polotsky. By way of concluding this over-lengthy review I revert, as he has himself done (pp. 93 ff.), to the Coptic Second Tenses other than the Second Perfect. The problems connected with the Second Present, so nearly identical with the First Perfect in all dialects except Sa'idic, are too complicated to engage our attention here. Nor shall I do more than mention the Second Future and the divergent Fayyumic and Bohairic forms of the Second Perfect. All these Polotsky has touched upon, though much too briefly. It is strange, however, that he has had nothing more to say about ⲉⲁⲓ- (p. 48), ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ (p. 50), and the ⲉ- before the 'quasi-verbs de qualité' (p. 51), since here there can be little doubt but that the initial ⲉ- corresponds to Late-Egyptian  *iw*. Concerning this *iw* we know that in the later stages of the language it confers a circumstantial quality upon the clauses it introduces; only when it accompanies an undetermined substantive can it turn what follows into a sort of relative clause. We thus fail to discern how ⲉⲁⲓ-, ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ, and (e.g.) ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲕ can have acquired the substantival quality which would enable them to serve as subjects to an emphasized adverbial predicate. The acquisition of that quality was perhaps the goal sought by all the Second Tenses; but we seem to see that this goal was reached in a number of different ways.

Adverse criticism has claimed so large a space in the present review that without some final corrective I might well be charged with injustice towards an altogether outstanding piece of scholarly work. Let me reiterate, therefore, my considered judgement that Polotsky has enriched us with a discovery that must rank among the best recent achievements of Coptic philological research. If I have been obliged to concentrate attention mostly on the earlier bearings of that discovery, it is because my own conception of a vital chapter in the history of the Egyptian verb is at stake. Here frankly we are not in agreement; but it seems likely that the last word on this topic will rest neither with Polotsky nor with myself.

ALAN H. GARDINER

Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1. Ein Hieratisch-Demotischer Kosmologischer Text. By H. O. LANGE and O. NEUGEBAUER. (*Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Skrifter*, Bind. 1, Nr. 2), Copenhagen, 1940. 92 pp., 7 figs., 31 pls.

This papyrus—one of several acquired some years ago by the University of Copenhagen—has been exhaustively studied by an eminent Egyptologist in collaboration with a mathematician with specialized knowledge of the early history of mathematics and astronomy. The publication of their results (in German) is a noteworthy contribution to the literature on ancient Egyptian astronomy.

¹ This sentence is of great interest for several reasons. There is no doubt that an emphasis lies upon both adverbial adjuncts. But *sk-i* is not to be interpreted as Imperfective *šdm-f* since immediately preceding we have a clause of precisely similar construction using , not . I believe Sethe in *Übersetzung*, p. 65, n. 3 to have completely misunderstood these clauses, which in my opinion do not refer to real fields at all, but to pictures in the speaker's tomb. If so, *pr-i* and *sk-i* introduce virtual clauses of purpose.

Hieroglyphic versions of the hieratic text (which is accompanied in the papyrus by a demotic translation and a commentary, and which is not older than the first century A.D.) are already known. They were found in the tombs of Sethos I and Ramesses IV—hereinafter referred to as S and R. Unfortunately the beginning (which almost certainly included the outspread figure of Nut) and other parts are missing, but the text includes many of the inscriptions and legends found in S and R, as well as the first part of the so-called Dramatic Text of S. There are also 'explanations' of the tables of dates associated with the dekans.

Evidently the writer had access—not to S and R—but to some common source or sources. In the demotic text are given variant readings in the form of free, as well as word-for-word translations, supplemented by comments where the writer was in doubt as to the meaning as was frequently the case. In the main, the writer follows S, but certain passages appear to be of earlier date. Various books of astronomical content are cited as authorities for statements given. The original text is often written in cryptic form. Here the demotic text supplies the key, showing that certain signs were deliberately substituted in order to disguise the real meaning from the casual reader.

The 36 dekans are grouped in two series—18 preceding, and 18 following Sirius, as in the M.K. coffin texts where they are separated by the rectangular diagram depicting Nut, Sirius, Orion, and Ursa major. The crucial problem lies in the interpretation of the terms 𓆎 *tpt*, $\text{𓆎} \oplus \text{𓆎}$ *šn-dst*, and 𓆎 *mst* which head the columns of dates. Both Lepsius and Gensler assumed these to mean heliacal rising, midnight rising, and dusk rising respectively. Lange and Neugebauer set out in full detail their reasons for interpreting these terms as dusk culmination, dusk setting, and heliacal rising; and despite difficulties, their conclusions appear convincing.

Another problem is the division of the 36 dekans into 29, said to be visible at some time or other during the course of the night, and 7 invisible on account of their proximity to the sun. No such distribution is astronomically possible, if the dekans were evenly spaced as is suggested by the ten-day intervals between successive culminations. The most important point that emerges is that the Egyptians knew the position of the sun in the dekan circle: that it occupied the middle position of the 7 invisible dekans at the epoch represented in the diagram.

The close connexion between Nut and the idea of the coffin as shelter for the deceased was noticed by Rusch. The goddess comes identified with the coffin, so it is not surprising to find the Nut diagram on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber in the Cenotaph of Sethos I and elsewhere. Rusch followed the idea back to the Pyramid Texts and the essential elements in the Sethos arrangement can be traced back in the same way.

A. Pogo's work on the prototypes of the date lists for the dekans on M.K. coffin lids make the general purport of the texts quite clear. The object was to enable the deceased to determine the hour of the day or night from the position of the dekans, but how this was supposed to be done is far from clear. In S there is actually a diagram and description of a sun clock. The changes in the names and arrangement of the dekans in course of time and their conventionalization make any complete identification, or any dating by astronomical calculation, extremely difficult. The lists conform to the primitive 360-day year and the selection of the 6th, 16th, and 26th days in each month seems due to the fact that they mark the middle of the ten-day periods named in the headings of the columns of the 'diagonal calendars' on the M.K. coffins.

Nut was conceived—not as the whole visible sky—but as the belt of the heavens in which moved the sun, the moon, and the dekans, later called the zodiacal belt—corresponding to the ANU-Way of the Babylonians. Two theories given of the origin of the stars (*a*) 'birth through Nut' and (*b*) 'rising from the house of Geb', the earth god, mark the distinction between ordinary nightly risings from the eastern horizon and heliacal risings after a period of invisibility. The distinction is clearly made between (*a*) invisibility by day, when the stars 'are in the body of Nut' and (*b*) complete invisibility for '70' days, when they are 'in the Duat'. Following Sirius as a standard, this period of 70 days is set down for all dekans, which is, of course, astronomically quite incorrect. The beginning of the year with the heliacal rising of Sirius is mentioned in the text and also in the inscription on the body of Nut. The appearance of the new moon in the west in the evening marks the beginning of the month, and close to the setting sun near the month of the Nut figure we find the signs $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ *mr rnp*. The first may be an error for 𓆎 or 𓆎 or, possibly, cryptographic. The second is known in connexion with the new moon (*Wb.* II, 432, 17). The sickle moon in the last phase appears on the thigh of Nut near 'the birthplace of the sun'. It certainly looks as if the

Egyptians realized that the various periods of invisibility of Sirius, of certain dekans, and of the moon between the last crescent phase and the new, are due to proximity to the sun and that the brightness of the sun renders the stars invisible in the day time.

From Papyrus Carlsberg 9 (*ca.* 140 B.C.) we know that the Egyptians had a scheme for predicting the lunar phases and for locating lunar festivals in the civil calendar. It is based on a period of 25 Egyptian years of 365 days, approximately equivalent to 309 lunar months. Nine of the 25 years have 13 new (or full) moons and the remaining 16 only 12, distinguishing the 'great and little years' of a XIIth Dynasty inscription (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 25, 90-1). Neugebauer rightly insists that the basis of precision of ancient astronomy is to be found not in measurements with instruments, but in the counting of days over a long period of time, and that the reason for the stagnation of ancient Egyptian astronomy was the inadequacy of their mathematical knowledge which never rose above a primitive level.

The material as yet available for the study of ancient Egyptian astronomy is lamentably meagre, and many problems remain unsolved: but the general outline of the Egyptian scheme is clear. It shows a very simple and primitive one, based on a 360-day year and taking no account of the changes in the lengths of the nights throughout the year—changes, however, which are not so well marked in Egypt as in our latitudes. Egyptian astronomy exhibits the same primitive characteristics as early Greek astronomy. Autolykos (*ca.* 370 B.C.) not only assumes the 360-day year but the same sort of primitive uniform scheme for the rising and setting of the ecliptic stars.


The happy collaboration between these two specialists has resulted in a valuable contribution to knowledge. From it and from other important papers published during the war years by O. Neugebauer (vide *Journal of Near East Studies*, vol. IV, no. 1, Jan. 1945, Bibliography, pp. 32-8) we can now appreciate the significance of the astronomical ceilings in the tombs and temples of Egypt and obtain a fairly complete picture of ancient Egyptian astronomy.

The text is very well set out with hieroglyphic transcription, translation, and commentary, and is supplemented by a particularly useful summary of the whole subject, hieratic and demotic glossaries and a bibliography. The plates are admirably reproduced.

The following corrections should be made to the lettering in the figure on p. 67. U7, U8, U9, U10, U11 should be L1, U7, U1, U2, U3 respectively. Add V above U3; P above K; U4 and U5 above Y; Cc below U7.

R. W. SLOLEY








Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938. Hor-Aḥa. By WALTER B. EMERY. Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo, 1939.

For the long delay in the reviewing of this volume the upheaval of the war and the consequent restriction of space in the *Journal* are responsible; but despite the lapse of time it seemed desirable that a book describing the tomb of one of the earliest kings of Egypt should not be passed over in silence. The tomb in question is that of Aḥa or Hor-Aḥa, No. 3357 at Saḳḳārah. Tombs from this reign are known at Naḳādah—in all probability that of the queen Neithotpe—and at Abydus, the latter of which the author suggests may be a cenotaph, so that the Saḳḳārah tomb may have served for the actual royal burial; nothing is more likely than that this king should have been interred in the neighbourhood of the recently founded capital of Memphis. The identification of the tomb rests on the names impressed on the clay sealings found in the course of the excavations; the author points out that whereas in the tombs of the great nobles of this early period the clay caps on jars bear both the owner's seal and that of the reigning king crossing each other at right angles, in the case of the present tomb both bands of sealing bear the royal name, and no other name was found. There are therefore very strong grounds for accepting the royal ownership of the tomb. Emery bases his reading of the king's Horus-name as Hor-Aḥa 'Horus the Fighter' rather than the hitherto-accepted simple Aḥa on the fact that in the writing of the name the Horus-falcon, whether standing on the *serekh* or not, always holds the shield-and-club sign  within its claws, as if the two were very closely associated, whereas in the case of the other early kings the signs which spell out the name are separated from the Horus-falcon of the title.

The tomb itself, in Emery's words, 'consists of a great rectangular pit cut in the gravel and rock which was divided by cross walls into five separate rooms with no communicating doors. These subterranean

rooms were roofed with timber and matting at a point just above the ground level. Above this construction is the superstructure which consists of a large rectangular "palace-façade" mastaba of brick with a hollow interior divided into a series of twenty-seven magazines, the five central ones being built directly over the subterranean chambers'. Round this building ran two enclosure walls in which at the present day no trace of doors can be found, and surrounding the enclosure was a mud-packed pavement. A brick-built 'boat-tomb' within which were discovered traces of the boat it once contained lay to the south of the tomb. The 'masonry' of the tomb was mud-brick throughout, and a series of text-figures displays the technical features of the construction. The five underground rooms showed unmistakable traces of reed matting which was plastered to the walls, thus yielding actual specimens of the mode of decoration whence were derived the painted matting-designs found on the walls of later O.K. tombs.

No trace of the body of the king has come to light, and such human remains as were found proved, so far as sex was identifiable, to have been female; they doubtless represent the immolation of the royal harem at the time of burial. Some animal bones from the meat-offerings were also found. Of the funerary equipment there have survived some remains of furniture, stone and pottery vessels, stone palettes, flint implements, and, curiously enough, six pottery objects which apparently represent the horn of the rhinoceros. The purpose of these is obscure, but they may have some connexion with the magical and curative properties elsewhere associated with rhinoceros-horn; Keimer contributes a discussion of these objects to the present volume. Zaky Y. Saad, Emery's collaborator, who deals with the pottery, also discusses the semi-hieratic inscriptions on many of the fragments; these, like so many of the very early writings, are virtually unintelligible, except in so far as they include the king's name, but Saad is probably right in thinking that these inscriptions refer to the contents of the jars. It is impossible, however, to accept his suggestion that the three horizontal strokes which sometimes occur near the king's name (many examples in Pl. 20) may be a writing of *nb trwi* 'Lord of the Two Lands'; there is not the slightest differentiation between the first stroke (that which would have to correspond to *nb*) and the other two.

In his second chapter Emery raises the question of the identity of Menes, and associates that name with Hor-ʿAḥa rather than Narmer. At first glance it looks as if both kings bore the name Men(es); on the Abydos sealing of Narmer the group *mn* alternates with the king's Horus-name, while on an ivory label from Naḳādah the title 'Two-Ladies *Mn*' stands within a building of some kind in front of the name Hor-ʿAḥa. Since *Mn* here is undoubtedly a royal name, Emery not unnaturally assumes that that king is the Menes of tradition, and suggests that the *mn*-sign on the Abydos sealing of Narmer refers to a title. Newberry, however, as Emery himself remarks, has suggested that the Naḳādah label refers to the burial of King Men (i.e. on this view Narmer) by his successor Hor-ʿAḥa, and this has been brilliantly confirmed by Grdseloff (*Ann. Serv.* XLIV, 279 ff.), who shows that the three  enclosing the name of King Men on the Naḳādah label represent the funerary booth, the *wrmt* of *Pyr.* 2100, and that the label does in fact refer to the burial of his predecessor by Hor-ʿAḥa. It may now, therefore, be regarded as certain that Narmer and Menes are identical. The personal name of Hor-ʿAḥa appears on his sealings as , as  , and also as three ostriches (?) with flapping wings (see Emery, p. 4, fig. 1). Emery reads the second group as *sr ist* 'son of Isis', but this interpretation seems open to question. It is not impossible that all three hieroglyphic groups may be variant writings of one and the same name, and they remind one of the word later written   , *ḥtm*. Is there not a bare possibility that Hor-ʿAḥa's other name may have been *Ḥetem*, which might mean either 'the Provider' or 'the Destroyer'?

R. O. FAULKNER

Studies in Third Millennium History. By T. BURTON-BROWN. London, Luzac & Co., 1946. 8vo. 120 pp. 3 plates, 9 figs. in text. Paper covers. 10s. 6d.

In the years between the wars the spate of excavation in every Near-Eastern country made any correlation of the results and assessment of their value in relation to the general history of the regions they covered a task of extreme difficulty. During the last few years that spate has slackened and is unlikely to attain its full pre-war force for some years to come, so that the time is apposite for an attempt—such as Mr. Burton-Brown's—to correlate the existing evidence.

Small in compass and covering a somewhat circumscribed field, the book is really a series of essays; it

does not cover the whole field of third-millennium history, though at the same time it often spreads well into the second millennium, down to 1600 B.C.; but a single thread does pass through the whole, namely, an attempt to provide a chronological scheme based on similarities of pot-fabrics and other finds from different sites in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Asia Minor, and elsewhere.

The best chapters in the book are undoubtedly those on the chronology of the early third millennium in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Elam and on the indications of foreign influence on Egypt during that same period. The chronological scheme given on pp. 58-9, summary and approximate though it is, has much to commend it and certainly leaves in the present reviewer's mind the feeling that it may—in general—stand the test of time. Equally the list of archaeological 'type-fossils' in Egypt from the 1st to 11th Dynasties on pp. 70-90 provides a useful conspectus of material scattered in the pages of excavation reports.

Criticism of details is bound to arise. To call the lapis-lazuli figurine of a negress from Hierakonpolis 'Cycladic type' seems a trifle strange (p. 71) and the present reviewer would be very glad to know what the evidence for glass as apart from glazing 'before the time of the 1st Dynasty in Egypt' is (p. 61).

It is, perhaps, a pity that Mr. Burton-Brown did not enlarge his book somewhat in order to make it a connected whole and provide some more adequate illustrative material, but his failure to do that is, of course, due to post-war printing costs and paper shortage. What he does provide will undoubtedly be helpful to other scholars, if only for its bibliographical references and the synthesizing of the various finds and excavators' views.

D. B. HARDEN

Wheat Prices and Milling Costs in Classical Rome. By N. JASNY. Wheat Studies of the Food Research Institute, vol. xx, no. 4. Stanford University, California, 1944. 34 pp. 1 dollar.

The Wheats of Classical Antiquity. By N. JASNY. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LXII, no. 3. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1944. 176 pp., 2 pls. 1.75 dollars.

These two monographs of a biologist with practical experience as the manager of a flour mill and as an exporter of grain should be used by papyrologists and Egyptologists; but the author is neither a philologist nor an archaeologist, and his statements where texts and finds are concerned have to be carefully checked. The first monograph (pp. 142 ff.) discusses the prices of Ptolemaic Egypt without being fully aware of the changing effects of inflations at this time, but has convincingly corrected the reviewer's views on freight rates between Egypt and Italy with the help of a recently discovered fragment of Diocletian's Price Edict. On the other hand, the author's ideas of the cost of grinding corn in Roman Egypt (pp. 160 ff.) should be revised, as he does not know that the Egyptian drachma was only a quarter of the denarius at this period.

The larger monograph's references to Egypt can be easily found in the Index. Here much valuable botanical and technical elucidation is to be found. On the other hand, the author's identification of hieroglyphic, Greek, and Latin words with modern varieties of corn requires cautious checking with the help of philological interpretation. For Egyptologists and papyrologists it is especially worthy of note that the author considers olyra as emmer, not as spelt (cf. Index, s.v.), and finds therefore difficulties (pp. 145 f.) in the well-known traditional price difference between wheat and olyra during the Ptolemaic period. Here R. Ciferri, *I frumenti etiopici nelle oasi del Sahara e le tracce del frumento nella preistoria dell' Africa settentrionale*, *Quartaer* IV (1942), 187 f. has recently proved that *triticum spelta* var. *saharae* is the wild ancestor of Egyptian spelt, as varieties of Egyptian wheat have the same Saharan origin. Therefore the papyrological *communis opinio* which considers olyra as spelt is now supported as much by botanical as by philological and economical evidence and should be upheld. The two monographs will prove very useful to the specialist, providing care is taken in accepting the author's philological and archaeological conclusions.

F. M. HEICHELHEIM



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